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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

SOCIAL CLASS AND THE CONCEPTION OF THE CALLING

Toward a constructive revision of Max Weber's hypothesis

by

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled " Social Class and the Conception of the Calling, Toward a constructive revision of Max Weber's hypothesis" submitted by Karl Peter in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

ABSTRACT

The German sociologist Max Weber traced the spirit of capitalism to the workings of religious psychological sanctions which operated in a number of Protestant sects.

In the present study the author looks at one of the Protestant sects, the Anabaptist-Hutterite group, and finds that this group had similar religious psychological sanctions but never developed a spirit of capitalism.

To explain this phenomenon the author hypothesizes that social relations characteristic of the Anabaptist-Hutterite membership had an influence on the institutional and religious development of this sect.

The particular social relations characteristic of the Anabaptist-Hutterite membership are determined through an analysis of two Medieval social structures, the German Markgenossenschaft and the guilds. By analyzing the emergence of the Anabaptist-Hutterite group as a social movement, the author finds the hypothesis to be confirmed.

On the basis of these findings it is suggested that the social relations characteristic of a social class did have an influence on the nature of the emergent institutional behavior of a Protestant sect. On the other hand the author finds some evidence for Weber's proposition insofar as the religious psychological sanctions which channelled human behavior into capitalistic activities were equally effective in channelling human behavior into cooperative and collective modes of behavior.

The conclusion is offered that the nature of the institutional conduct of the Protestant sects was to a large extent influenced by social class

characteristics, while the religious psychological sanctions operated as forces of social control holding the individual to the type of conduct normative in the sect to which he belonged.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

MAX WEBER'S HYPOTHESIS AND THE AIM OF THIS PAPER

Max Weber published his essay Die Protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus first in the Archiv fuer Sozialwissenschaften und Sozialpolitik, Volumes XX and XXI, 1904-1905. This essay was intended to be a first step toward a comparative study to determine the influence of certain religious sanctions on the development of an economic spirit. In 1920 Weber presented the incomplete results of this study, in his book Gesammelte Aufsaetze zur Religionssoziologie.

Weber began his investigation with the general observation that there seemed to exist a correlation between religious affiliation and occupational distribution. Business leaders, owners of capital, skilled laborers and higher trained technical and commercial personnel of modern enterprises seemed to be overwhelmingly Protestant. A study by Martin Offenbacher, Konfession und Soziale Schichtung¹ served as the statistical starting point. Offenbacher observed that more Protestants than Catholics sent their children to high schools and more Protestant students than Catholics studied subjects preparing them for technical, industrial and commercial occupations. In addition, Weber observed that Catholics were under-represented among the skilled laborers in modern industry. More young Protestants in the handi-

¹ M. Offenbacher, "Konfession und soziale Schichtung." Eine Studie ueber die wirtschaftliche Lage der Katholiken und Protestanten (1901) Vol. IV, Part V, of the Volkswirtschaftliche Abhandlungen der badischen Hochschulen.

crafts joined the skilled labor force of modern industry than Catholics. Among journeymen the Catholics showed a stronger propensity to remain in their crafts, to become master craftsmen, while the Protestants showed a tendency to fill the upper ranks of skilled labor and administrative positions.

Weber admitted that some of these tendencies might be traced to previous ownership of capital or inherited wealth. He dismissed the argument as unfounded that religious minorities subject to discriminatory restrictions were forced into certain occupational categories and continued to search for a tentative answer to this occupational discrepancy between Protestants and Catholics.

Catholics, he claimed, have shown no special competence in economic matters whether they were in minority situations or not. On the other hand, Protestants whether in majority or minority positions had shown a special tendency to develop economic rationalism.

Weber draws the conclusion that the principal explanation of this difference between Protestants and Catholics must be sought in the permanent intrinsic character of their religious beliefs, and not only in their temporary external historic-political situations.¹ For Weber, the problem to be studied, therefore, was to discover what elements in each faith were working to produce these results. Weber observed that differences in religious beliefs between Catholics and Protestants seemed to have arisen during the formative years of Protestantism--the Reformation. He singled out four principal movements of Protestantism, Calvinism, Pietism, Methodism and the Baptist sects, as those

¹Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958), p. 40.

religious entities which seemed to have produced the elements of faith responsible for these observed differences. However, Weber was;

. . .not concerned with the question of what was theoretically and officially taught in the ethical compendia of the time, however much practical significance this may have had through the influence of church discipline, pastoral work and preaching. We are interested in something entirely different: the influence of those psychological sanctions which, originating in religious belief and the practice of religion, gave a direction to practical conduct and held the individual to it.¹

He found that:

Protestant Asceticism . . . created the force which was alone decisive for its effectiveness: the psychological sanction of it (faithful labour, ours) through the conception of labour as a calling, as the best, often in the last analysis the only means of attaining certainty of grace.²

Weber maintained that the ethical ideas and the practical results of the doctrines of Calvinism and the Puritan sects were based on the search for salvation alone, and were the consequence of purely religious motives.³

However he warns:

We have no intention whatever of maintaining such a foolish and doctrinaire thesis as that the spirit of capitalism could only have arisen as the result of certain effects of the Reformation, or even that capitalism as an economic system is a creation of the Reformation . . . we can only proceed by investigating whether and at what points certain correlations between forms of religious belief and practical ethics can be worked out. At the same time, we shall as far as possible clarify the manner and the general direction in which, by virtue of those relationships, the religious movements have influenced the development of material culture. Only when this has been determined with reasonable accuracy can the attempt be made to estimate to what extent the historical development of

¹ Ibid., p. 97

² Ibid., p. 178

³ Ibid., p. 90

modern culture can be attributed to those religious forces and to what extent to others.¹

Weber points out new avenues of research by saying that:

The next task would be rather to show the significance of ascetic rationalism, which has been touched upon in the foregoing sketch, for the content of practical social ethics, thus for the types of organization and the functions of social groups from the conventicle to the State. Then its relations to humanistic rationalism, its ideals of life and cultural influence; further to the development of philosophical and scientific empiricism, to technical development and to spiritual ideals would have to be analysed. Then its historical development from the medieval beginnings of worldly asceticism to its dissolution into pure utilitarianism would have to be traced out through all the areas of ascetic religion. Only then could the quantitative cultural significance of ascetic Protestantism in its relation to the other plastic elements of modern culture be estimated. Here we have only attempted to trace the fact and the direction of its influence to their motives in one, though a very important point. But it would also further be necessary to investigate how Protestant asceticism was in turn influenced in its development and its character by the totality of social conditions, especially economic. (emphasis ours) The modern man is..even with the best will, unable to give religious ideas a significance for culture and national character which they deserve. But it is, of course, not my aim to substitute for a one-sided materialistic an equally one-sided spiritualistic causal interpretation of culture and of history. Each is equally possible, but each, if it does not serve as the preparation, but as the conclusion of an investigation, accomplished equally little in the interest of historical truth.²

Weber in these quotes gives testimony to the fact, that an economic ethic can not exclusively be determined by a religious ideology.

As Pitirim Sorokin observed:

Even if we must admit that Weber's investigation about the causal influence of an economic ethic on the economic life is correct, we can not derive these results from religion alone because the economic ethic is the product of various other factors.³

Weber as well as Sorokin imply an influence of organizational, geographical, political, social and economic factors on the development of an

¹ Ibid., pp. 91, 92

² Ibid, pp. 182, 183

³ Pitirim Sorokin, Soziologische Theorien im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert (C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Muenchen, 1931) (our translation)

economic ethic. While Weber expressed the incomplete nature of his investigation by saying that further research into the influence of these factors is necessary; Sorokin claims, that it is impossible to estimate the religious influence before we have done research into the influence of these other factors.¹

Following the advice of Weber and Sorokin, an attempt will be made in this paper to evaluate elements of the religious faith and the practical conduct of a social movement that showed similar psychological sanctions to Calvinism but developed under different socio-economic conditions. The Anabaptist-Hutterite movement with which we will be concerned, differed from Calvinism with respect to some economic, political and social factors. We are interested in detecting the degree of influence which these economic, political and social factors had on the faith and institutional life of the group. By holding asceticism and the particular psychological sanctions of which Weber speaks constant (in comparison with Weber's study) any differences in the nature of the religious ethic and practical conduct which we might detect, should be correlated with those economic, political and social factors which differed from those that prevailed in Calvinism. In this way we do not hope to find a determining cause for a particular kind of human conduct but rather expect to find some indication as to the nature and the magnitude of the influence which economic, political and social factors had on the development of faith and practical conduct.

¹ Ibid., p. 235

THE INFLUENCE OF WEBER'S HYPOTHESIS

In the preface to the 1958 edition of The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism,¹ Talcott Parsons makes the following statement:

Weber's trend of interpretation of the modern industrial society was couched within the framework of a more general theoretical analysis of the structure and functioning of social systems. He was thus not merely one of the most eminent empirical analysts of society of his time but one of the great original theorists . . . Weber was above all able to place the problem of the role of human values in the determination of human social action in a theoretical light which made the older versions of the problem definitely obsolete. . . . In this wider field Weber's contribution converged remarkably with those from other sources, notably the French sociologist Emile Durkheim, certain trends in American sociology connected with such names as Cooley and G. H. Mead, and on certain psychological borderlines of sociology, the work of Freud.

. . . Weber, as one of the main founders of the modern phase of social science, has thus helped to shift the basic problem from the question of whether and how much religious and cultural values influence behavior and society, to that of how they influence them and in turn are influenced by the other variables in the situation. The essay on the Protestant Ethic . . . read with discernment, forms an excellent introduction to the immensely more sophisticated and refined analytical approach of the social sciences to problems of historical analysis and interpretation of society, which has developed during the present century.

Weber's ideas have exercised a great influence in the academic fields of history, economics, psychology and sociology. A great number of textbooks contain Weber's basic hypothesis without ever mentioning his name. His ideas are often regarded as self-evident truths.

H. E. Barnes, in his Historical Sociology,² writes: "No one has ever been able seriously to dispute Weber. Such criticisms as have been made have not upset his thesis in any essential respect."

¹Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, op.cit. pp. XV, XVI, XVII.

²Harry Elmer Barnes, Historical Sociology: Its Origin and Development, (New York, Philosophical Library, 1948), pp. 59-61.

Howard Becker and Harry Elmer Barnes wrote, in Social Thought from Lore to Science:¹

One of the most enlightening contributions of sociology to the analysis of religious structures is the revelation, as set forth by Max Weber and others, of the link between capitalism and Calvinism. Despite the overstatements made by some of Weber's uncritical followers, there is little doubt that a close relation has existed in modern times between these two movements, and that they have profoundly influenced each other.

W. Arthur Lewis in The Theory of Economic Growth,² discusses the influence of religion on economic growth. Although he dismisses the notion that the Reformation might have had any influence on economic growth by saying that the increase in economic opportunities during the centuries prior to the Reformation initiated respectability and acceptability, of capitalistic activities, he nevertheless says, without referring to Weber, that

. . . some religious codes are more compatible to economic growth than others. If a religion lays stress upon material values, upon work, upon thrift and productive investment, upon honesty in commercial relations, upon experimentation and risk bearing, and upon equality of opportunity, it will be helpful to growth, whereas in so far as it is hostile to these things, it tends to inhibit growth.

Without mentioning Weber, G. Myrdal, in International Economy: Problems and Prospects,³ has this to say:

No country with a large Protestant share in the population belongs to the backward group of countries or even to the middle group placed below the very progressive one. The Protestant religion, in its Lutheran and still more in its Calvinist branches, retained comparatively little place for grace and indulgence and advanced a hard morality of effort and deeds; it prompted a social spirit of individual responsibility and personal emulation, if not competition, and therefore gave a moral value to the individual's social and economic advance.

¹Howard Becker and Harry Elmer Barnes, Social Thought from Lore to Science, Third edition (Dover Publications Inc., 1961), p. 324.

²W. A. Lewis, The Theory of Economic Growth (Homewood, Ill.: Richard D. Irving, Inc., 1955).

³Gunnar Myrdal, An International Economy: Problems and Prospects (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1956), p. 18.

Erich Fromm, in Escape from Freedom,¹ advances a social-psychological interpretation of Lutheranism and Calvinism. He writes:

Protestantism was the answer to the human needs of the frightened, uprooted and isolated individual who had to orient and to relate himself to a new world. The new character structure, resulting from economic and social changes and intensified by religious doctrines, became in its turn an important factor in shaping the further social and economic development. Those very qualities which were rooted in the character structure, compulsion to work, passion for thrift, the readiness to make one's life a tool for the purpose of an extra personal power, asceticism, and a compulsive sense of duty--were character traits which became productive forces in capitalistic society and without which modern economic and social development are unthinkable; they were the specific forms into which human energy was shaped and in which it became one of the productive forces within the social process.

David Riesman, with the collaboration of Nathan Glazer, writes in Culture and Social Character² under the heading "The Lonely Crowd: A Reconsideration in 1960:"

We do not in "The Lonely Crowd" explain how the inner-directed social character came about, though we follow Max Weber's lead in seeing the Protestant ethic as linking a Greek type of rationality to a Judeo-Christian type of this-worldly morality.

This selection of examples showing Weber's influence on the thinking of some of the numerous writers is neither exhausted nor in any way representative. All that is attempted here is to give some indication regarding the diversity of the impact of Weber's ideas. The series of quotations might be rounded off with a comment made by William H. Whyte Jr.,

¹Erich Fromm, Escape from Freedom (New York: Rinehart & Co., 1941), pp. 62-102.

²Seymour Martin Lipset and Leo Lowenthal, Culture and Social Character (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press Inc., 1961), p. 441.

in The Organization Man.¹ In a separate chapter entitled "The Decline of the Protestant Ethic" Whyte says:

Whether the Protestant ethic preceded capitalism, as Max Weber argued, or whether it grew up as a consequence, in either event it provided a degree of unity between the way people wanted to behave and the way they thought they ought to behave, and without this ideology, society would have been hostile to the entrepreneur.

THE CRITICISM OF WEBER'S HYPOTHESIS

Despite the great influence which Weber's ideas had on many scholars, criticism of his hypothesis was in no way lacking. A number of critical replies appeared between the first publication of Weber's essay in 1905 and 1920 when Weber's book, Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie, was published. F. Rachfahl,² in "Internationale Wochenschrift fuer Wissenschaft, Kunst und Technik," pointed out that the idea of an ethical-religious motivation which finds application in economic activities is dubious. The economic driving force might derive from different motivational sources which are imbedded in the cultural complex. Rachfahl argues that religious-ethical motivation as Weber hypothesizes could act on the economic situation but also could stand opposed to it. Calvinism, which on one hand, stressed the importance of commerce and industry, on the other hand acted as a restrictive force for economic activities. He points out that the correlation between industry and religion in regard to the Dutch cities does not support Weber's hypothesis at all. Amsterdam

¹William H. Whyte Jr., The Organization Man (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1956), pp. 14-22.

²F. Rachfahl, "Kapitalismus und Kalvinismus", Internationale Wochenschrift fuer Wissenschaft, Kunst und Technik, 1909, No. 30-43.

and Antwerp were Catholic cities with an exceptionally high standard of commerce. In England, where the correlation between Puritanism and economic activities was much more profound, other factors than religion could have played a decisive part. Rachfahl nevertheless accepted Weber's general argument with some modifications. Weber replied to Rachfahl's critique in "Antikritisches zum Geist des Kapitalismus,"¹ to which Rachfahl replied again² with an article entitled "Once more Calvinism and Capitalism." Weber finally ended the debate by publishing an "Anticritical Final Word,"³ without conceding any of his vital arguments.

Luje Brentano in his book Die Anfaenge des modernen Kapitalismus,⁴ made the attempt to define the "spirit of capitalism" and came to the conclusion that economic virtues, like industry, thrift and frugality, have arisen with trade and can be found in every age which showed interest in the making of profit through trade. He traced economic rationality to the application of the Roman Law. The Stoic philosophy which underlies the Roman Law established a complete harmony between nature and reason, between the natural and existing order. Brentano argues that this philosophical presupposition led to the spirit of capitalism in the sense that what brought the greatest success was also right. Furthermore, Brentano points out the role which the Renaissance had on conventional constraint. He conceded, however, that a well-established capitalism

¹Max Weber, "Antikritisches zum Geist des Kapitalismus," Archiv fuer Sozialwissenschaft, Vol. XXX (1910).

²F. Rachfahl, "Nochmals Kalvinismus und Kapitalismus," Internationale Wochenschrift, fuer Wissenschaft, Knnst und Technik, No. 22-25 (1910).

³Max Weber, "Antikritisches Schlüsswort," Archiv fuer Sozialwissen schaften, Vo. XXXI (1910).

⁴Luje Brentano, "Die Anfaenge des modernen Kapitalismus." (Leipzig, 1923)

could have received a powerful impulse by doctrines similar to Calvinism.

R. H. Tawney, in his book, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism,¹ finds Weber's investigation illuminating but allowing more than one interpretation. "There was action and reaction, and while Puritanism helped to mould the social order, it was in its turn moulded by it." Tawney asks the question:

Why insist that causation can work in only one direction? Is it not a little artificial to suggest that capitalist enterprise had to wait, as Weber appears to imply, till religious changes had produced a capitalistic spirit? Would it not be equally plausible, and equally one-sided, to argue that the religious changes were themselves merely the result of economic movements?

Tawney points out that:

Recent studies of the development of economic thought suggest that the change of opinion on economic ethics ascribed to Calvinism was by no means confined to it, but was part of a general intellectual movement, which was reflected in the outlook of Catholic, as well as of Protestant writers.

He points out the differences between the doctrines of certain Calvinistic groups during different times which must have found their causation in the social and economic situation rather than in religious ideas.

It is arguable, at least, that instead of Calvinism producing the spirit of capitalism, both with equal plausibility be regarded as different effects of changes in economic organization and social structure.

The capitalist spirit, Tawney writes:²

. . . is as old as history, and was not, as has sometimes been said, the offspring of Puritanism. But is found in certain aspects

¹ R. H. Tawney, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism (New York, New American Library, 1947).

² Ibid., pp. 226-227

of later Puritanism astonic which braced its energies and fortified its already vigorous temper. . . . Calvinism had begun by being the very soul of authoritarian regimentation. It ended by being the vehicle of an almost utilitarian individualism. While social reformers in the sixteenth century could praise Calvin for his economic rigor, their successors in Restoration England, if of one persuasion, denounced him as the parent of economic licence, if of another, applauded Calvinist communities for their commercial enterprise and for their freedom from antiquated prejudices on the subject of economic morality. So little do those who shoot the arrows of the spirit know where they will light. (emphasis ours)

H. M. Robertson, in his book, Aspects of the Rise of Economic Individualism,¹ comes to the conclusion that:

The chief factor in the triumph of bourgeois liberalism was the factor of economic development, which made the bourgeoisie important. It came into its own as a secular force. . . . The concessions which the later Calvinism made to the commercial spirit were in large part the sacrifice of some part of the Church's claims in order to be able to retain others.

Robertson points to the correlation between trade routes and new discoveries and the rise of capitalistic activities in England, the Netherlands and Italy. With the exception of Spain which suffered from restrictive regulations, these countries became centres of individualistic and capitalistic movements of which the Renaissance was one. He comes to the conclusion that:

The spirit of capitalism is not the creator but the creation of the class of businessmen. . . . The medieval attitude to enterprise--that one should not seek for gain, but only to gain a living--was only possible so long as opportunities were so meagre as to prevent the average business man notably offending against the rule. . . . The discoveries provided an immense increase of economic opportunities. They greatly stimulated that development of commerce already in progress whereby markets and sources of supply were

¹H.M. Robertson, Aspects of the Rise of Economic Individualism, A Criticism of Max Weber and His School (Cambridge: The University Press, 1933).

sought further afield, throwing out of date all medieval attempts at regulation; they increased opportunities for making money and the scale of operations.¹

Amintore Fanfani in Catholicism, Protestantism and Capitalism² reasons that since capitalism existed before Protestantism, as Weber admits, the spirit of capitalism must logically have existed before the facts of capitalism and consequently must have existed before Protestantism. However, he declares Weber's distinction between Capitalism and the "ethos" or "spirit" of capitalism a source of confusion and wonders what purpose is served by it.³ He declares:

. . .we would point out that man has an inborn instinct for gain; that strives always to attain the minimum means as far as his state of knowledge allows, that external factors either check this instinct or encourage it. It is this instinct, this tendency, that is the germ of the capitalistic spirit.⁴

H. Richard Niebuhr, in The Social Sources of Denominationalism, hypothesizes an agreement of interest between the middle classes and the reformatory movement in Calvinism. The fact that Calvinism distrusted wealth as it distrusted all influences that distract the aim of the soul, became subject to modifications. He writes:

But this position was not long tenable before the assaults of the class which had found the doctrine otherwise so attractive and to which the church needed to look for its chief support. . . . Individualism triumphed, however, only after the commercially and politically interested groups within the church threw their influence

¹ Ibid., p. 177.

² Amintore Fanfani, Catholicism, Protestantism, and Capitalism, (London: Sheed and Ward, 1939).

³ Ibid., p. 201.

⁴ Ibid., p. 202.

into the scale--quite unconsciously--and conveniently forgot the discipline while they remembered the liberty their faith inculcated. The modifications of primitive Calvinism under this influence is marked in four particular areas: in the democratization of the originally autocratic and authoritative plan of government, in the abandonment of the essentially medieval social ethics, in the substitution of independency and tolerance for the conception of the church state, and in the acceptance of doctrinal modifications under the influence of the humanism and rationalism which were prevalent in the middle classes.¹

Thus Richard Niebuhr attributes a considerable influence to the social class interests of those members of a religious faith on which the church had to rely for support. The process of modifying religious ideas according to the interest of the class involved leads to the emergence of a new idealistic emphasis on the one hand, and the dropping of ideas and principles on the other.

J. Milton Yinger, in Religion in the Struggle for Power,² reviews Weber's argument and criticizes him on three grounds. He gives emphasis to the criticism of Weber's theory by Gordon Walker³ regarding the methodological use of ideal-types.

Gordon Walker holds that Weber is almost inevitably led into error by the use of a "unilateral" or "isolierend-kausal" method, which, although capable of important discoveries, is likely to mistake a partial picture for a total one.

He continues his reasoning:

The method itself may be a legitimate and necessary analytic procedure. The difficulty with Weber's treatment was not that he took Calvinism as a "given" but he assumed (necessary for his thesis) an explanation of that given--internal religious development--without adequate demonstration.

¹ H. R. Niebuhr, The Social Sources of Denominationalism (New York: Living Age Books, Meridian Books, 1957), p. 99.

² J. M. Yinger, Religion in the Struggle for Power (New York: Russell & Russell Inc., 1961).

³ Gordon Walker, "Capitalism and the Reformation," Economic History Review, Vol. VIII, No. 1 (November, 1937).

He says:

We can not wholly accept the Weber Troeltsch assumption that at the start Calvinism was largely independently determined out of an inner dialectic of religious phenomena. We must inquire into the socio-economic setting out of which came some of the very assumptions with which Calvin starts . . . Weber looked upon Calvinism as something of an intrusive force from the outside developed by its own inner dialectic, not simply a part of the socio-economic system that was producing capitalism. The determination of the validity of this assumption is a problem the difficulty of which can not be exaggerated. It is precisely the issue around which revolves the whole question of the causes of societal phenomena.¹

Yinger's argument here merges with the thesis of Niebuhr and others who claim that social and idealistic characteristics present in the society which produced Calvinism became part of that faith to a greater or lesser extent. The "given" life in Geneva with its urban characteristics, its trade and commerce, the interests and occupations of the ruling class with which Calvin collaborated, tended to exert influence on the formulation of religious ideas. Yinger's criticism of Weber's ideal types leads to the critique on the origin of the "ethos" or "spirit" of Calvinism. He asserts that:

A great variety of conduct can follow from the same maxim. Weber would argue that certainly it was not the intention of most of the clergy to stimulate the capitalist spirit. Once he has admitted, however, that an ethic can be interpreted, despite the intentions of the preacher, to suit the listener, what is to prevent one from assuming that any other ethic would not also have been thus reinterpreted--in which case Calvinism can be considered a cause of the spirit of capitalism in only a very limited sense.²

Another point is made by Yinger when he draws attention to the church-sect dualism:

Church and sect thus make opposite interpretations of the inherent dualism of Christian teachings. If a religious movement spreads to

¹Yinger, op cit., pp. 118-128.

²
Ibid., p. 125.

a larger and larger group and moves away from the religious pre-occupation and fervor of its founders, to become involved as one factor among others in the daily lives of its members, it becomes adjusted to suit the needs of the people who come in contact with it. The nature of the adjustment is of great importance in determining the influence and further spread of the movement . . . The church-sect dilemma is not at first apparent and the leader of the movement may not recognize it. But it is revealed in the process of interaction with the social situation of the time.¹

The social situation here is seen as not only to have an influence on the rise of a religious ideology, in any given setting, but as having a continuous evolutionary effect when this religious ideology spreads to larger and larger groups. Yinger points out that:

The church-type mind, having accepted the legitimacy (inevitability) of trade, was devoted to the task of controlling the new activities.

By which he means:

The fact, that religious doctrine changed, under pressure of social conditions, in an attempt to keep the church in a position where it would be heard.²

In a slightly different way, Tawney, Robertson, and Niebuhr have all said the same thing. However, Yinger lends importance to Weber's hypothesis when he says:

It should not be forgotten, in this discussion of the evolution of Calvinism, that the later developments in Calvinism were based on elements of the original which contained possibilities of adaption to the bourgeois-capitalist situation which Catholicism and Lutheranism possessed to no great degree . . . Thus the emerging Calvinism may not have sponsored the modern world, but its approach to religious problems was such that neither did it prevent its appearance. It sought only to moralize it.³

¹Ibid, p. 87.

²Ibid, p. 99.

³Ibid, p. 100.

The scope of Yinger's critique is summed up in these words:

Now it is of utmost importance to discover what influences selected the teachings of Calvin that were to survive, what teachings were reinterpreted, what new doctrines added, as well as to understand the original setting which may have influenced the nature of this religious development.¹

¹Ibid., p. 88.

CHAPTER II

THE PROBLEM, THEORY AND HYPOTHESIS

THE PROBLEM

Our problem begins with the observation, that the Anabaptist-Hutterite sect (like Calvinism an offspring of the Reformation) had similar religious psychological sanctions to those of Calvinism but developed economic institutions which were hostile to all capitalistic activities. Weber, it will be remembered was interested in:

. . .The influence of those psychological sanctions which, originating in religious belief and the practice of religion gave a direction to practical conduct and held the individual to it.¹

Weber defined as a psychological sanction that state of mind in an individual which functions in such a way as to structure his behavior according to certain values.

Emile Durkheim has put this in a slightly different way. He spoke of the obligations and constraints imposed by the religious ideology which exercise an interior spiritual pressure on the individual.²

In Weber's as well as in Durkheim's terminology we are dealing with the self-control of the individual who has accepted certain values from society.

¹Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, op. cit., pp. 114-115.

²Emile Durkheim, The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life, Translated by Joseph Ward Swain, (Colliers Books, New York, 1961) pp. 237-238.

As Weber notes:

This active self-control, which formed the end of the exercitia of St. Ignatius and of the rational monastic virtues everywhere, was also the most important practical ideal of puritanism. . . .¹

Weber has dealt with the psychological sanctions in the Baptist sects under which Anabaptists-Hutterites can be classified in his chapter "The Religious Foundation of Worldly Asceticism." The main characteristics of all Baptist sects, as Weber saw it, was the believer's Church:

This means that the religious community, the visible Church in the language of the Reformation Churches, was no longer looked upon as a sort of trust foundation for supernatural ends, an institution, necessarily including both the just and the unjust, whether for increasing the glory of God (Calvinistic) or as a medium for bringing the means of salvation to men (Catholic and Lutheran), but solely as a community of personal believers of the reborn, and only these. In other words, not as a Church, but as a sect.

Weber asserted that the Baptist sects were characterized by a peculiar form of justification through faith.

As the Baptists have insisted, in all religious discussion, their conception of justification was radically different from the idea of work in the world in the service of Christ. It consisted rather in taking spiritual possession of His gift of salvation. But this occurred through individual revelation, by the working of the Divine Spirit in the individual. It was offered to everyone, and it sufficed to wait for the Spirit, and not to resist its coming by a sinful attachment to the world.²

Weber noted a renaissance of early Christian doctrines. All Baptist communities desired to be pure Churches in the sense of the blameless conduct of their members. A sincere repudiation of the world and its interests, and an unconditional submission to God as speaking through

¹Weber, op. cit., p. 118.

²Weber, op. cit., pp. 144-145.

the conscience, were the only unchallengeable signs of true rebirth. Thus a corresponding type of conduct was indispensable to salvation. And hence, the gift of God's grace could not be earned, but only one who followed the dictates of his conscience would be justified in considering himself reborn. Above all the peculiar rational character of Baptist morality rested psychologically on the idea of expectant waiting for the Spirit to descend. Insofar as Baptism affected the normal workaday world, the idea that God only speaks when the flesh is silent evidently gave an incentive for the deliberate weighing of courses of action and their careful justification in terms of the individual conscience. Since these sects would have nothing to do with the political powers and their acts, the external result also was the penetration of ascetic virtues into everyday life. Weber claims that the refusal to accept office in the service of the state, and the antagonism to any sort of aristocratic way of life, resulted in a shrewd and conscientious rationality of conduct which was forced into non-political callings. The importance which the Baptist doctrine of salvation attributes to the role of the conscience as the revelation of God to the individual, gave their conduct in worldly callings a character which was of the greatest significance for the development of the spirit of capitalism.¹

All these Baptist characteristics which Weber enumerated, are pertinent with respect to the Anabaptist-Hutterite sect. The peculiar rational effects which the doctrine of predestination produced in Calvinism, were in the Anabaptist-Hutterite sect produced by the

¹Ibid., abbrev. pp. 145-150.

expectant waiting for the Holy Spirit to enter the individual conscience. Repudiation of the world and submission to the workings of the Holy Spirit in the individual did, in effect, place the individual under the same sanctions as in Calvinism.

The psychological sanctions which were operative in the Hutterite individual were originally initiated by the fear which the loss of a salvation-achieving mechanism caused in the individual. The culturally conditioned acceptance of salvation as an absolutely necessary goal combined with the absence of a mechanism to achieve this goal with certainty resulted in a frightened state of mind.

Anabaptist-Hutterites like all Protestant sects were concerned with a sure way to salvation. Calvin has expressed this time and again and the most important Anabaptist-Hutterite writing, "Account of our Religion, Doctrine and Faith"¹ by Peter Rideman likewise reflects the same search.

Like the Calvinists, the Anabaptist-Hutterites believed, that the road toward salvation was blocked through original sin. The inheritance from Adam (the original sin which corrupted mankind) blocked the way to God, who had punished mankind with physical and spiritual death. Calvin got around this obstacle by developing the notion of predestination which worked in such a way that God by his own choice had predestined the eternal fate of all man according to criteria only understood by himself. The Anabaptist-Hutterites worked out a slightly different mechanism.

¹Peter Rideman, Account of our Religion, Doctrine and Faith Original German Edition (1565) in British Museum No. 3908a8 First Edition in English, translated by Kathleen E. Hasenberg, M.A. 1950 (Hodder and Stoughton in conjunction with The Plough Publishing House).

After the fall of Adam, God had established with man the Covenant of law.¹ This covenant demanded the strictest obedience to God's laws regardless of their form. With Christ however, a new covenant came into force. God poured His grace out over mankind. This grace consisted of the possibility of being restored to the original likeness of God by getting rid of the inheritance of Adam. Although mankind did not deserve such a grace, the restoration of man was made possible through Christ.

Man's part in his restoration was to follow in the footsteps of Christ. This was achieved in three steps.² The realization of the evil nature of man was the first step, followed by repentance, remorse, and humiliation before God.

To such a fearful and anxious heart, that is sorry for its sin and knows not where to turn in its distress, to such one will God draw near and will both begin and bring to perfection his work in him.³

Something important would happen to the individual who had truly humiliated himself before God. He would be forced to make the third step where faith as a gift from God would enter his mind and:

As soon as the man hears the Gospel of Christ and believes the same from his heart, he is sealed with the Holy Spirit, which is the pledge of redemption. This Spirit of Christ, which is promised and given to all believers makes them free from the Law or power of sin and plants them into Christ. It makes them of his mind, of his character and nature, so that they become one plant and one organism together with him; he the root or stem and the believer the branches.⁴

The acquisition of the Holy Spirit by the individual meant that the evil part of man's nature, inherited by all mankind after the fall

¹Rideman, op. cit., p. 64.

²Ibid., pp. 59-63.

³Ibid., p. 61.

⁴Ibid., p. 62.

had been cast away, and man was restored again in the likeness of God. The possession of this Spirit entitled man to participate in the promise and inheritance of Christ--which was the promise and certainty of salvation. Psychologically, we are dealing with a person willing to empty himself of all his personal wishes and to put himself completely at the disposal of his God. He was willing to renounce his own will, desires, and wishes to accept the command and the guidance of his God. This guidance was provided by the Holy Spirit entering the mind of the individual.

We believe that in the Holy Spirit we have all comfort, delight and fruitfulness and that he confirmeth, bringeth to pass, carried out and perfecteth all things; that he also teacheth, directeth and instructeth us, assureth us that we are children of God, and maketh us one with God, so that through his working we thus become incorporated into and partakers of the divine nature and character.¹

Consequently the Holy Spirit was seen as the transforming supernatural force capable not only of saving the individual by its presence, but also of guiding the individual in its future actions in accord with the will of God. A life pleasing to God and one which leads to the desired goal of salvation then was completely dependent on the possession of the Holy Spirit by the individual.

But how could the individual be sure that he possessed this Spirit?

The significance of the development of the Hutterite sect lies in the fact that this group provided for a set of criteria which were unmistakably associated with the possession of the Holy Spirit. These criteria were not only clearly defined by the sect, but were also acted

¹Ibid., p. 37.

on in the group context and commonly acknowledged. There was a common consensus as to how the presence of the Holy Spirit expressed itself in the actions of any individual belonging to the sect.

Hutterites believed that the Holy Spirit was not only closely related with the coming of Christ, but that Christ had also set an example to be followed by those who possessed the Spirit. The "Fellowship of Christ" became a model for behavior. The individual possessing the Holy Spirit identified himself with Christ and tried to follow his example. But what in actual conduct was meant by "Fellowship of Christ?" The Hutterite community was seen as an invisible Church where the bonds between all believers consisted of the common possession of the Holy Spirit. Since all believers took part in the same spiritual gift, the nature of this community by necessity had to show unity and singlemindedness. After all, the same Spirit could not work in one direction in one individual and in another direction in another individual. The emerging group norms defined the possession of the Holy Spirit by all members of the group in only one way, namely, in that all individuals, possessing the Spirit, acted in unity. The unanimity of the community became the sure sign of its divine guidance and its possession of the Holy Spirit.¹

This put the individual in a rather ambiguous position. He not only wanted to possess the Holy Spirit as a necessary step to obtaining salvation; he also had to demonstrate that he possessed it, by demonstrating his conformity to the group as such. The result of this psychological pressure system was that the individual rationally structured his

¹Ibid., p. 87.

own behavior in conformity with that of the group.

Certainty of salvation than was achieved when the actions of the individual became rationally directed toward a willing and diligent participation in the daily affairs of the group or community. Only insofar as the individual detected in himself the desire and the willingness to submit to the group and to take part in its unity could he be assured that the Holy Spirit was working in him. This required an active self-denial and the control of irrational impulses and desires. In other words, ascetic behavior and submission to the group became associated with the all-important signs of salvation.

The type of rational behavior we are dealing with in this context was defined by Weber as an:

orientation to an absolute value involving a conscious belief in the absolute value of some ethical aesthetic, religious, or other form of behavior, entirely for its own sake and independently of any prospects of external success.¹

Weber pictures a "wertrational" means-end relationship which connects practical conduct with the attainment of a valued goal.

We have seen that the "Fellowship of Christ" and the Hutterite community were regarded as one entity. They were the indispensable means to attain the valued goal of salvation. At the same time, the Hutterite community was characterized by its unity and singlemindedness which showed that the Holy Spirit was at work in it. As a result, the Hutterite individual who was oriented toward the valued goal of salvation, structured his behavior according to the demands of the Hutterite community as a discrete means toward the attainment of the valued goal.

¹Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization (New York: 1947) p. 115.

The participation in the group, according to the norms and customs of the group generated the goal of salvation for the Hutterite individual. To the extent to which the individual achieved a feeling to be saved he also achieved a state of mind which Hutterites called "Gelassenheit." Such a state of mind was characterized by a fearless and carefree attitude. It was the child-like freedom which flowed from the complete assurance of God's grace which made all worldly concerns completely insignificant for the individual who possessed it. This "Gelassenheit" was the result of a conscious constant and rightful participation in the community and the active demonstration of being in agreement and in unity with the community. It is marked by the absence of conflict between the individual wants, wishes, and desires, and the demands of the group. "Gelassenheit" for Hutterites constituted the highest form of self-discipline and self-denial. It signified the stage where the individual became completely submerged in the group.

We have demonstrated so far, that the psychological sanctions of which Weber spoke, were powerfully at work in the Anabaptist-Hutterite sect. At the same time we have seen, that the particular manner in which these psychological sanctions operated was quite different. Predestination in Calvinism was handed out by God to the individual. The Holy Spirit for Anabaptist-Hutterites in contrast was regarded as a common possession of all mankind. Its possession depended on the individual only insofar as he had to exercise his will to obtain it. Predestination denied any value to the human will. The Calvinist God was an abstract God beyond the boundaries of human understanding and human justice.

In contrast to Calvinism the Hutterite God was a God of grace

and forgiveness. His gift of salvation was not denied to anyone. He radiated not an individualistic spirit but a collective one. Not the individual alone could attain salvation but the group as a whole. The "Fellowship of Christ" was the association of man which cooperated to achieve the attainment of salvation.

While Calvinism enforced the isolation of one individual from the other, the Anabaptist-Hutterite sect enforced the solidarity, sympathy, and fraternity between individuals. While the Calvinist received his certainty of salvation as an individual working in his calling, the Anabaptist-Hutterite received this certainty from his association with other man. It is no surprise, that the institutional development of the Anabaptist-Hutterite sects created social structures entirely different from those of Calvinism. The relevant sentiments regarding the economic institution of the sect were expressed by Peter Rideman in these words:

Now since all God's gifts--not only spiritual, but also material things--are given to man, not that he should have them for himself or alone but with his fellows, therefore, the communion of saints itself must show itself not only in spiritual but also in temporal things. One might not have abundance and another suffer want, but that there maybe equality.¹

God from the beginning ordained nothing private for man, but all, things to be common. But through wrong taking since man took what he should not and forsook what he should take, he drew such things to himself and made them his property, and so grew and became hardened therein. . .created things which are too high for man to draw within his grasp and collect, such as the sun with the whole course of the heavens, day, air and such like, show that not only they alone, but all other created things are likewise made common to man. . .that the rest is just as little made by God for man's private possession, is shown in that man

¹Rideman, op. cit., p. 88.

must forsake all other created things as well as this when he dies, and can carry nothing with him to use as his own. For which reason Christ also called temporal all things foreign to man's essential nature. For if a man is to be renewed again in the likeness of God, he must put off all that leads him from him--that is the grasping and drawing to himself of created things--for he can not otherwise attain God's likeness.¹

Business activities were looked upon in the following way:

We allow none of our members to do the work of a trader or merchant, since this is a sinful business. . .it is almost impossible for a trader to keep himself from sin. And as a nail sticketh fast between door and hinge; so doth sin stick close between buying and selling. Therefore do we allow no one to buy to sell again, as merchant and traders do. But to buy what is necessary for the needs of one's house or craft to use it and then to sell what one by means of his craft has made therefrom, we consider to be right and not wrong.

This only we regard as wrong: when one buys a ware and sells the same again even as he bought it, taking to himself profit making the ware dearer thereby for the poor, taking bread from their very mouth and thus making the poor man nothing but the bondman of the rich.

. . .They say, however, but the poor also profit in that one bringeth goods from one hand to another. There they use poverty as a pretext, seeking all the time their own profit first and thinking only of the poor as having an occasional penny in their purse. Therefore, we permit this not amongst us, but say, that they should labour, working with their hands what is honest, that they may have to give to him that needeth.²

As a result, the economic institution of the Anabaptist-Hutterite sect abolished all private property and instituted a "community of goods." Capitalistic activities for the individual were made impossible and even the community as a whole created profit only through the application of labour.

Working capital as well as all tools belonged to the community as a whole. A productive system, based on the familiar guild organization undertook the finishing of goods and a sales department handled

¹Ibid., pp. 88-89.

²Ibid., pp. 126-127.

the marketing, selling the goods for a "just" price. Each productive branch in the community was headed by one of the elders, who organized the work, supervised the productive process and enforced all the rules of thriftiness and diligence which became a norm in Hutterite communities. Insofar as these elders did their own buying and selling, they were required to submit their incoming money to the community leaders every two weeks.¹

The economic achievements of the Hutterites were particularly prominent in the fields of weaving, cloth-making, pottery, cutlery, horse-breeding, the building industry, milling, brewing, and the leather industry. In addition, they had organized crafts like watch-makers, administrators of estates, nurses, doctors, barbers, carpenters, hat-makers and rope-makers. Teamsters would transport the raw material as well as the finished goods. Doorman and night-watchmen were responsible for opening and closing the doors of the community at the appropriate times of the day, and supervising the handling of fire and light. As time went on, the performance of any craft became minutely regulated by ordinances. There are a great number of these ordinances, each related to a different profession.²

Female labor was as organized as male labor. Women were mainly involved in the domestic work in the community, such as supervising the kindergarten, nursing, caring for the aged, cleaning and cooking. Some industries, like weaving, employed women for various tasks, and women

¹For a detailed description of this system see A. J. F. Zieglschmid "Das Klein-Geschichtsbuch der Hutterischen Brueder" (The Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, Inc. Philadelphia, Penna., 1947) pp. 94-100.

²See Appendix I

also did agricultural work. The spatial organization of work followed the example set by the Guild system. A Hutterite house contained the workshop on its lower floor, while the upper floor contained the bedrooms. The meals were taken at the common dining-hall. The system of consumption found a particularly strong interest among Hutterites. Elaborate rules were issued to assure the just distribution of food and goods to all members. In 1569, during a time of famine, a food regulation was issued which portioned out the food according to age, sex, occupation, condition of health, etc. Other regulations issued at later times regulated the type of food issued to new mothers, the aged, the sick and children of various ages. But it was not only the redistribution of food and goods that became regulated.

All officers of the community were time and again reminded to attend to any individual in the community in a friendly and dignified manner, regardless of position or status. This system represented an economic ethic similar in forceful dedication to that of Benjamin Franklin's, but opposite in meaning. The economic emphasis was on work rather than gain.

Weber said about Calvinism:

Calvinism broke the bonds of the impulse of acquisition in that it not only legalized it, but looked upon it as directly willed by God. The campaign against the temptations of the flesh, and the dependence on external things, was, as besides the Puritans the great Quaker apologist Barclay expressly says, not a struggle against the rational acquisition, but against the irrational use of wealth.¹

¹Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, op. cit. p. 171.

He further noted:

For in conformity with the Old Testament and the analogy to the ethical valuation of good works, asceticism looked upon the pursuit of wealth as an end in itself as highly reprehensible; but the attainment of it as a fruit of labour in a calling was a sign of God's blessing.¹

Among the Anabaptist-Hutterites, the pursuit of wealth as an end in itself was not only reprehensible, but the attainment of individual wealth constituted a clear transgression of God's divine order and was punished by the loss of salvation. The calling for the Hutterite individual consisted not in the fruits of labour but in labour itself as a form of moral participation in the community.

Calvinism as Weber pointed out, led to the emergence of an individualistic capitalistic economic spirit. The Anabaptist-Hutterite sect developed a collective cooperative economic spirit. Calvinism looked at the attainment of individual wealth as a fruit of labour in a calling as a blessing of God. The Anabaptist-Hutterite sect looked at the attainment of individual wealth as the source of all evil. While Calvinism produced a rational individual isolated from his fellow man through the evaluation of his own action in terms of the goal of salvation; the Anabaptist-Hutterites in contrast developed a rational individual pushed toward his fellow man in the common attainment of the Holy Spirit. The feeling of being predestined was an individual achievement. To come into the possession of the Holy Spirit and to demonstrate the possession of the Holy Spirit was only possible in the social environment of the Hutterite community. Grown from the same religious roots, the Protestant Ethics of Calvinism and Anabaptist-

¹Ibid., p. 172.

Hutterites remained as far apart as economic ethics could be.

We have attempted to point out the similarities in the psychological sanctions of Calvinism and the Anabaptist-Hutterite sect and we have demonstrated the disparities in the economic spirit which developed in the respective sects. The question that needs to be answered is: What factors accounted for these differences.

THE THEORY AND THE HYPOTHESIS

This paper is concerned with the question: What factors accounted for the differences in the economic spirits between Calvinism and the Anabaptist-Hutterite sect under conditions where both of these sects contained similar religious psychological sanctions.

Georg Simmel has developed some theoretical notions which might be helpful in the development of a hypothesis.¹ He writes:

All religion contains a peculiar admixture of unselfish surrender and fervent desire, of humility and exaltation, of sensual concreteness and spiritual abstraction, which occasion a certain degree of emotional tension, a specific ardor and certainty of subjective conditions, an inclusion of the subject experiencing them in a higher order-- an order which is at the same time felt to be something subjective and personal.²

Simmel views religion as being based on valued sets of social relations

¹Georg Simmel, "A Contribution to the Sociology of Religion," American Journal of Sociology, LX:6 (May, 1955), 1-18.

²Ibid., pp. 3-4

which attain a religious quality in the process of societal development.

He says:

The theory here set forth is not intended to prove that certain social interests and occurrences were controlled by an already independently existing religious system. That, certainly, occurs often enough. . . .

. . . But what I mean is precisely the reverse of this, . . . namely, that in those social relations, the quality which we afterwards, on account of its analogy with existing religiosity, call religious, comes into being spontaneously, as a pure socio-psychological constellation, one of the possible relations of man to man.¹

Simmel sees the purely economic relationships in society as only one set out of many that can influence or give rise to religious behavior. He notes the possible exaggerations in an analysis of any historical period from a study of the economic conditions alone. Rather, he perceives an influence of all human institutions.

. . . Forms of social relations either condense or refine themselves into a system of religious ideas, or add new elements to those which already exist; or viewed differently, a specific emotional content which arose in the form of individual interaction transfers itself in this relationship into a transcendent idea; this builds a new category according to which the forms or contents are experienced which have their origin in human relationships.²

He continues his argument thus:

I do not mean that the religion was first, and that the sociological relations borrowed their attributes from them. I believe, rather, that the sociological significance arises without any regard for the religious data at all as a purely inter-individual psychological relation, which later exhibits itself abstractly in religious faith.³

¹Ibid., p. 5.

²Ibid., p. 8.

³Ibid., p. 9.

Simmel regards religion as a deification of human relationships.

It is not a question about the trivial propositions that mankind is reflected in its gods--a general truth which needs no proof. The question is, rather, to find these particular human characteristics whose development and extension beyond the human create the gods. (emph.our) And it must be born in mind that the gods do not exist as the idealization of individual characteristics, of the power, or moral or immoral characteristics, or the inclinations and needs of individuals; but that it is the inter-individual forms of life which often give their content to religious ideas.¹

. . . God is conceived as the personification of those virtues which he himself demands from people. He is goodness, justice, patience, etc., rather than the possessor of these attributes; he is, as it is sometimes expressed, perfection in substance, he is goodness itself, and love itself, etc. Morality, the imperatives that control human conduct, has, so to speak, become immutable in him. As practical belief is a relation between persons which fashions an Absolute over and above the form of relation; as unity is a form of relation between a group of persons which raises itself to that personification of the unity of things in which the divine is represented; so morality contains those forms of relation between man and man which the interest of the group has sanctioned, so that the God who exhibits the relative contents in absolute form, on the one hand, represents the claims and benefits of the group, as against the individual, and, on the other, divests those ethical-social duties which the individual must perform of their relativity, and presents them in himself in an absolute substantial form. . . .

. . . The old idea that God is the Absolute, while that which is human is relative, here assumes a new meaning; it is the relations between men which find their substantial and ideal expression in the idea of the divine.²

Simmel goes a considerable step further than Yinger and Niebuhr. While these two assume an influence of the socio-economic conditions on the nature of a religious ideology, Simmel suggests that patterns of interaction which attain a dominant value in society may supply the content of the religious ideology that develops. Religion is seen as a precipitate of the ongoing social process.

¹Ibid., p. 11.

²Ibid., p. 16.

Such a position stands very much in contrast to Weber's, whose orientation in this matter was that:

. . .Above all, the consequences of the conception of the calling in the religious sense for worldly conduct were susceptible to quite different interpretations. The effect of the Reformation as such was only that, as compared with the Catholic attitude, the moral emphasis on and the religious sanctions of organized worldly labour in a calling was mightily increased. The way in which the concept of the calling which expressed this change should develop further, depended upon the religious evolution which now took place in the different Protestant Churches.¹ (emphasis ours)

Did the moral emphasis on, and the religious sanctions of, organized worldly labour increase because of the pre-existing asceticism and the religious evolution, or did it increase because this particular type of worldly labour had achieved great value for certain classes of society and then condensed into a religious ideology?

What did Weber understand by "religious evolution?" In the case of Luther, he demonstrated that Luther favoured a traditionalistic interpretation of the Bible. The Old Testament morals wherein everyone should abide by his living and let the godless run after gain were fundamentally traditionalistic. So was the personal attitude of Jesus which Weber characterized by the "typical antique-Oriental plea"; "Give us this day our daily bread."² Luther, says Weber,

. . .As he became increasingly involved in the affairs of the world, came to value work in the world more highly. But in the concrete calling which an individual pursued, he saw more and more a special command of God to fulfil these particular duties which

¹Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, op. cit., p. 83.

²Ibid., p. 83.

the Divine Will had imposed upon him. And after the conflict with the Fanatics and the peasant disturbances, the objective historical order of things in which the individual has been placed by God becomes for Luther more and more a direct manifestation of divine will.¹

The important point here is that Weber traced the nature of Luther's calling to his spiritual interpretation of the Bible and pays only a casual attention to the social conditions which, as he admits, played a part also. The question is this: Did Luther preach a calling based on the "objective historical order" because of a "religious evolution" which took place in his church, or because this "objective historical order" was exactly what the supporters of Luther needed after the Peasant War nearly toppled this order?

Luther's concept of the calling corresponded closely to the dominant political and economic interests of those worldly authorities who sheltered and supported him. After the Peasants War of 1525 which affected almost the whole of Germany, nothing was more important to the ruling princes and local sovereigns than teaching their subjects to accept the social conditions as they were.

The theoretical positions of Simmel and Weber at this point become incompatible. Simmel would hypothesize that the so-called "divine order" was based on a set of human relations, which was highly valued by those who formulated the new religious ideas. Because of their significance for the group or class, these human relations then condensed into a religious ideology. Weber maintains, on the other hand, that it was Luther's spiritual interpretation of the Bible which led to the adoption of the "divine order," he looked at Calvinism as something that

¹Ibid., p. 85.

developed by its own inner dialectic.. This conflict in Weber's and Simmel's theoretical positions is of greatest importance because it points to different determinants of human behavior. Yinger calls it the issue around which revolves the whole question of the causes of societal phenomena.¹

This paper proposes to formulate a hypothesis based on the theoretical position of Georg Simmel and allowing for a constructive revision of Weber's hypothesis. We have seen, that the Anabaptist-Hutterite sect which emerged at the time of the Reformation and which formed an offspring of the Anabaptist movement showed in its developing ideology the same psychological sanctions which Weber attributed to Calvinism. However, while Calvinism was principally an urban movement whose development took place in Geneva, the membership of the Hutterite sect was largely recruited from the peasants, miners and village craftsmen of the Tyrolean countryside. These people had to flee their native country because of the ongoing persecution, and they established migrant communities in Moravia. The social institutions which developed in these communities displayed exactly opposite characteristics of what Weber called the spirit of Capitalism. Moreover, these communities survived for 430 years and today maintain about 130 colonies in North America with a population of about 15,000 people.

Following Simmel's theory we are interested in those social relations which were of dominant importance to the people who became members of the Hutterite sect. It is the influence which these non-religious social relations had on the emergent Hutterite ideology and

¹Yinger, Religion in the Struggle for Power, op. cit., p. 123.

institutions which forms the subject matter of our investigation. This view can be shaped in the following hypothesis:

The institutional life and the religious ideology, as it became structured and shaped within the social process of the developing Anabaptist-Hutterite sect, contained and realized non-religious social relations which originated in those social classes from which Hutterite members were recruited.

According to this proportion, the non-religious social relations in the form of goals and values existing in the social classes from which Hutterites were recruited present the independent variable, while the emergent institutional and ideological forms present the dependent variable.

THE RESEARCH DESIGN

The main criticism of Weber's hypothesis can be traced to two methodological weaknesses. First, Weber's research offers no possibility to estimate the influence of the religious factors in relation to other factors which might have played a part in the development of an economic ethic. Pitirim Sorokin among others expressed this by saying:

Weber's research does not attempt to determine the influence which the religious factor had in the development of an economic ethic. As a result we are as ignorant about the degree of effectiveness of religious factors as we were before.¹

Secondly, Weber did not take into account in his research the adjustment which a religious ideology undergoes when it spreads to larger and larger groups.

¹Pitirim Sorokin, op. cit., p. 235.

As Milton Yinger noted:

If a religious movement spreads to a larger and larger group and moves away from the religious preoccupation and fervor of its founders, to become involved as one factor among others in the daily lives of its members, it becomes adjusted to suit the needs of the people who come in contact with it.¹

This paper attempts to offer a study, which should be comparable to Weber's investigation but tries to avoid the two methodological weaknesses just mentioned.

To do so, the following research design is suggested:

1. In the discussion of the problem it has been demonstrated that the religious psychological sanctions which operated in Calvinism and to which Weber attributed such a great influence were also present in the Anabaptist-Hutterite sect. No claim has been made that the religious ideologies of Calvinism and the Anabaptist-Hutterite sect were the same. However, the conclusion was drawn, that Weber's psychological sanctions in combination with the idea of asceticism were present in both. Weber has placed emphasis on the function which these psychological sanctions had on the conduct of the individual believer apart from their particular religious formulation, which differed as to the Baptist sects and Calvinism for example. We have followed the same procedure but have outlined the difference in the formulation as well.
2. By establishing the validity of point one we should have expected according to Weber's hypothesis, that the institutional development of the Anabaptist-Hutterite sect should have led to the emergence of a capitalistic spirit similar to that of Calvinism.

However:

3. It has been demonstrated that the institutional development of the Anabaptist-Hutterite sect did not favor any capitalistic spirit at all, but established a cooperative-collective system blatantly hostile to any capitalistic way of thinking and behavior.

In search for an answer why these two groups which were similar according to Weber's basic variables nevertheless showed such great

¹Yinger, op. cit., p. 87.

differences in their institutional development, we will apply our hypothesis which states: that the institutional life and the religious ideology of the Anabaptist-Hutterite sect became shaped and structured by non-religious social relations which originated in those classes from which the Anabaptist-Hutterite members were recruited.

We in effect attempt to explain, why two groups having the same religious psychological sanctions nevertheless developed entirely different social institutions in which these psychological sanctions operated. The psychological sanctions are treated as a constant equally valid for Calvinism as for the Anabaptist-Hutterite sect.

To test the hypothesis we need to find first the basic social relations characteristic for those classes from which the Anabaptist-Hutterite membership was recruited. To do so, we will investigate two fundamental social structures of the Middle Ages, the rural structure of the German "Markgenossenschaft" and the urban structure of the "Guilds." According to our hypothesis we will try to detect the influence which the basic social relations of these social structures had on social movements which developed during the Reformation. At the same time attention will be paid to the strains and stresses to which these structures were subjected during the time preceding the Reformation. We will follow the transformation of these structures and try to evaluate the opposition which these structures encountered from other emergent social structures in a rapidly changing social environment.

Finally we will turn to the Reformation and observe how these various differentiated social structures interacted in the city state of Zuerich. The Reformation in this city gave rise to two important social movements one being the Zwinglian Church, the other being the

Anabaptist-Hutterite movement. Methodologically we will treat the emergence of these social movements from the theoretical position which Herbert Blumer¹ and others have worked out.

The four stages of a social movement (1) social unrest; (2) popular excitement; (3) formalization; and (4) institutionalization will be applied to the emergent process of these movements.

We will attempt to demonstrate, how the social relations which we found to be characteristic for the "Markgenossenschaft" and the "Guilds," influenced the Anabaptist-Hutterite movement in different ways during the four stages. Since the development of the Anabaptist-Hutterite movement was in Zuerich interrupted in a stage of popular excitement due to persecution, we will follow the further development of this movement first in the Tyrol and than in Moravia until this movement completed its stage of institutionalization.

Of greatest importance for this analysis is the clash between the Zwinglian Reformation and the Anabaptist movement in the city state of Zuerich. Particular attention will be paid to the role of the agitator and how he is influenced by the social and economic interests of his supporters. That part of our analysis which is concerned with the development of the Anabaptist-Hutterite sect in the Tyrol, will concentrate on those changes in a social movement that occur when the agitators disappear and the movement becomes captured by a social class which injects its own problems into the movement.

Throughout the investigation we will try to avoid the second

¹Herbert Blumer, "Collective Behavior" in A.M. Lee, editor, Principles of Sociology, (New York: Barnes and Noble Inc. 1951).

weakness of Weber's research. In our concrete analysis we will be concerned with relatively small groups whose physical and social boundaries are clearly defined. Wherever an ideological transfer from one group to another takes place we will pay attention to those changes which occur as the result of a different socio-economic environment. In fact the changes which do occur due to these socio-economic factors form the essential part of this paper.

The principle of dealing with groups which can be clearly defined in time and space is only violated once, namely in our analysis of the social structures of the "Markgenossenschaft" and the "Guilds." We hope there is some justification for dealing on a more general level rather than on the level of a specific group due to the widespread acceptance which these social structures had during the Middle Ages.

In a final chapter some conclusions will be drawn from our investigation and implications will be derived from a comparison with Weber's study.

CHAPTER III

DATA AND ANALYSIS OF MEDIEVAL SOCIAL STRUCTURES

THE AIM AND THE THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THIS CHAPTER

In the present chapter we will attempt to find those important social relations which existed in the social structures of the German "Markgenossenschaft" and the "Guilds". When we speak of fundamental social relations we mean a set of interpersonal relations characteristic for these structures. More specifically we have in mind social relations which can be placed somewhere on that continuum of social relations which was given various names in the literature. Ferdinand Toennies¹ has seen it as "Gemeinschaft and Geællschaft". Emile Durkheim in his study on the division of labor polarized society into those with "mechanical" and "organic solidarity".² Robert Redfield has seen it as "the Folk-Urban Continuum"³ and Howard Becker has typified it into "Sacred and Secular Societies".⁴ Finally Pitirim Sorokin has conceptualized this continuum in "familistic" and "contractual" relationships.⁵

For Sorokin, "familistic" relationships are permeated by mutual love, sacrifice and devotion. They represent a fusion of the ego into

¹Ferdinand Toennies, Community & Society (Gemeinschaft und Geællschaft) Translated and edited by Charles P. Loomis (The Michigan State University Press East Lansing 1957).

²Emile Durkheim, The Division of Labour in Society Translated from the first French edition 1893, by George Simpson, (Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1933).

³Robert Redfield, "The Folk Society," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LII, No. 4 (January, 1947), pp. 293-308.

⁴Howard Becker, Through Values to Social Interpretation, (Duke University Press, Durham N.C. 1950)

⁵Pitirim A. Sorokin, Society, Culture, and Personality, (Cooper Square Publishers, New York, 1962)

"we." Norms of such relations require that the participation be all-embracing, all-forgiving, all-bestowing and unlimited.

The "contractual" relationship is limited and specified, covering only one narrow sector of the lives of the parties involved. The rights and duties of each party are specified by contract. The unity of such groups is rooted in the sober calculation of advantage. The relations are self-centred and utilitarian. One member tries to get as much as possible from the other with the smallest possible contribution. There is no fusion to produce a homogeneous "we" and one party has little interest in the well-being, activities, and philosophy of the other. Such relations are usually of limited duration, voluntary, and stand in contrast to those which are compulsory.

Emile Durkheim in his research was chiefly interested in the nature of the social solidarity in society. People in any society live in a state of interdependence, but it is the nature of the social bond, that gives society its particular character. The society dominated by a "mechanical solidarity" is characterized by a mental, moral and social homogeneity of the individuals. The unity of the groups involved is established by consensus and understanding. In the economic field communal property, and communal responsibility and obligations dominate. Political authority resides in general with the collective conscience of the group.

A society with an "organic solidarity" is marked by mental, moral and social heterogeneity. Group unity is based on an utilitarian interdependency. Individual ownership and responsibility and contractual law dominate the field of economics. Political authority is delegated and

rests with political and occupational groups.¹

The keystones of Toennies' system are the concepts "Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft," which are based primarily upon natural will and rational will.²

. . .human will may be thought of as the cause of human activities or conscious omissions. . . it is (ours) . . . from the psychological point of view, nothing but a succession of ideas.

Toennies differentiated between social will and individual will.

. . .by social will in general we mean the will which is valid for a number of men i.e., which determines their individual wills in the same sense. . .

. . .by individual will we mean here every existing combination of ideas (thoughts and feelings) which, working independently acts in such a way as to facilitate and hasten, or hinder and check, other (similar) combinations of ideas (makes them probable or improbable).³

Individual and social wills are contrasted in the following manner:

Gemeinschaft (Natural will)

<u>Individual will</u>	<u>Social will</u>
1. liking	1. understanding
2. habit	2. custom
3. memory	3. belief, faith or creed

Gesellschaft (Rational will)

1. deliberation	1. contract
2. discrimination	2. regulations and/or bylaws
3. conception	3. doctrine
	4. convention
	5. legislation
	6. public opinion

¹Durkheim, op. cit.

²Ferdinand Toennis, Community & Society, op. cit.

³Ferdinand Toennies, "Philosophical Terminology," in Mind, A Quarterly Review of Psychology and Philosophy, New Series, Vol. VIII, No. 29, January, 1899.

On the individual and social wills of a Gemeinschaft-type rest a number of corresponding Gemeinschaft structures:

- a. Gemeinschaft of blood, or kinship
- b. Gemeinschaft of place or neighborhood
- c. Gemeinschaft of commonwealth and fellowship
- d. Gemeinschaft of mind
- e. Gemeinschaft of friendship.

These social structures are found in the family, village and town. The individual and social wills of a Gesellschaft type give rise to these social structures:

- a. city, metropolis
- b. Gesellschaft organizations in trade, industry and science
(Bureaucracy)
- c. Nation and State (Having special interest groups)
- d. Church.¹

Toennis individual and social wills can easily be identified as concepts relating closely to social-psychological and institutional levels of modern sociological research. In a review of Durkheims Les Regles de la Methode Sociologique² Toennis states that what Durkheim calls "social facts" he himself has named "social will."³

While the general usefulness of the Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft typology was demonstrated by the aforementioned sociologists which were

¹Ferdinand Toennis, Community and Society, op. cit.

²Emile Durkheim, Les Regles de la Methode Sociologique (Paris 1895).

³Ferdinand Toennis, in Archiv fuer systematische Philosophie, Band Iv, 1898, pp. 495 ff.

all concerned with the same social phenomena, Toennis himself has frequently been accused of establishing two mutually exclusive concepts with no intervening graduations. Becker has provided some graduations intermediate to his "sacred-secular" typology. He speaks of a "folk-sacred" society, a "prescribed-sacred" society, a "principled-secular" society and a "normless-secular" society.¹ In the present paper, the concepts of Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft are seen as extreme cases of a continuum. We are not so much interested in demonstrating a detailed static position of society on the continuum but rather attempt to show a trend which develops from one general position on the continuum to another. The direction of this trend and the reaction of various social structures to this trend is that subject matter which is of dominant interest to this paper.

The Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft typology is being used because Toennis not only developed concepts of social solidarity (social will) but also corresponding personality types (individual will). This fact makes him more useful for the present paper than Durkheim, who at times had been accused of neglecting the social-psychological level of the social bond. In accord with our hypothesis we will first try to evaluate the social relations characteristic of the "Markgenossenschaft" and the "Guilds" according to the "Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft" continuum. At the same time we will be interested in the transformation of these social structures. We will pay attention to the process by which new social structures become differentiated from established ones and we will observe how the old and the new structures became opposed to each other.

¹Howard Becker, Through Values to Social Interpretation, op. cit., pp. 248-280

We have already indicated that we will try to analyze the opposition of old and new social structures and of old and new social relations according to a theoretical scheme outlined by C. A. Dawson and W. E. Gettys.¹ The main objective of this chapter is the analysis of a state of social unrest in German society prior to the Reformation.

Dawson and Gettys said about social unrest:

Back of such behavior tendency there is some exciting factor or factors in the situation to bring the individuals involved under the spell of a mood in which each shares and which comes to dominate their behavior. They respond to each other in interaction and manifest like responses to the common stimulus. This results, in part at least from the fact that an individual, prompted by an inner feeling of need, desire, fear, hate, or other attitude, is in state of tension. This tension seeks release in ways that are more or less overt and thus is sensed or perceived by other individuals, who themselves may be under similar tension. . . This restlessness, . . . will communicate itself in turn to other individuals, particularly those individuals who are perceptive by reason of their own assorted discontents or unmet desires. Thus, sometimes subtly and almost imperceptible, and sometimes openly and deliberately, restlessness spreads until it affects numbers of persons, who constitute a collectivity. Through interaction the restlessness has now become social unrest, a precondition of collective behavior.²

They further note:

The evidence of social unrest which precede a social movement appear first in . . . local disorders, in the increase of vice, of insanity, and of agitation. . . It. . . is marked by governmental and ecclesiastical inefficiency, if not outright corruption.³

To summarize the aim of this chapter: We will analyze the two social structures of the German "Markgenossenschaft and the "Guilds" in

¹Dawson and Gettys, op. cit., pp. 602-607.

²Ibid., pp. 602-607.

³Ibid., p. 693.

terms of a Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft typology of social relations. We will further see how these structures became transformed and differentiated into classes and how the opposition and the conflict between these differentiated classes led to a general state of social unrest. In a subsection regarding the role of the humanists we will try to indicate one of the social sources which produced the agitators who eventually initiated a number of social movements during the Reformation.

We will make no attempt to be comprehensive in our analysis regarding the social structures we have selected for analysis. Quite obviously the role of the Catholic Church as we will analyse it constitutes one limited way of looking at it. We are hopeful, that we will check the dangers of projecting into historical data our own ways of looking at them through the rigorous application of existing theories to the data. We will pay attention to the statement which says that:

Research in history as in all science should begin with that frequently overlooked but vital step in the advancement of learning: the recognition that there is something to be explained.¹

and we will keep in mind that:

The historian. . . will place greater reliance on theory in the form of concepts by which to organize his data; he will utilize hypotheses derived from theory to guide the search for evidence and to suggest possible interpretations; and he may obtain from theory the criteria that enable him to decide when a proposition has been adequately demonstrated. Without adequate use of theory historical study cannot attain its full potential. It is the use of theory that permits us to hope that in history, as in other sciences, the results of research may become increasingly cumulative.²

¹"The Social Sciences in Historical Study," Social Science Research Council, Bulletin 64, 1954, 230 Park Avenue, New York 17., p. 23.

²Ibid., p. 25.

THE ECONOMIC CHANGES FROM THE 14TH TO THE 16TH CENTURY

Up to the middle of the 14th Century the European nations were mainly concerned with the development of local resources as they existed in natural areas of trading and production. The degree and intensity of this development, however, reached a point where the limits of the self-contained local economic unit began to diffuse and larger trading areas evolved.

Germany, as a country situated in the middle of Europe, soon began to develop trading routes in all directions. The "Hanse," the association of commercially interested cities, explored the Baltic Sea and established important trade routes to the Scandinavian countries, Poland, and Russia.¹ The German countries in the west utilized the natural advantages of the Rhine and developed a trading area which connected with the French centres of trade as well as England.² Moreover, the Rhine established a natural trading route between the German countries in the south and those in the north. The turnover of goods in Cologne increased from 37 million marks in 1368 to 210 million marks in 1464.³

The cities in the south of Germany, Nuernberg, Augsburg, Ulm, Strassburg and Frankfurt submerged in the great flow of trade that crossed the passes of the Alps and connected with the great trading companies in Venice, Genoa and Milani. The inflow and exchange of goods

¹Otto von Gierke, Das deutsche Genossenschaftsrecht, (Akademische Druck and Verlagsanstalt Graz, 1954.) Volume 1, p. 348-49.

²Herbert Heaton, Economic History of Europe (New York & London, Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1936), p. 148.

³Karl Lamprecht, Deutsche Geschichte (Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1912.) Volume 5, Part 1, p. 67.

led to the development of industrial enterprises in the German cities. The Frankfurt exhibition took place twice a year since 1330 and was extended by fourteen days in 1384. New exhibition in Leipzig and Frankfurt/Oder were established. Extensive mining areas emerged in Goslar, Freiburg, Schneeberg, Kuttenberg and Iglau. Saxonia, Bohemia and the Tyrol became important mining centers for copper, iron, salt, and silver.

The development of a large scale international trading community led to attempts to simplify the currency system. In 1386, four countries of the Rhine agreed on common measurements, common weights and common currency. In 1524, after prolonged failures, a general agreement on currency for Germany was established. A developing transportation system demanded a regulation of the tariff system and the security of the highways and waterways.¹ The accumulation of individual wealth in the cities led to a credit system which decreased the interest rate from 10 per cent during the 14th century to 4 per cent in the 15th century.

The bustling cities of the 15th century began to value time in the modern sense of the word. Four steeple clocks in Nuernberg chimed the quarter hour in the 16th century. Too many holidays were seen as a disease and Sebastian Frank, one of the historians of the time, mentioned time as a precious good which was perceived as being so scarce that nobody could afford to use it for other than useful purposes.²

¹Heaton, op. cit., p. 163.

²Lamprecht, op. cit., p. 68.

FROM WORKING-CAPITAL TO FINANCE-CAPITAL

Up to the 14th Century wealth was relatively scarce. Insofar as capital existed, it took the form of working-capital for the craftsman or the trader. However, surplus capital soon became invested in property in the form of mortgages. With the development of trade and commerce, it became possible to buy shares for salt-works and mines.¹ The development of surplus capital over and above the working capital in the cities led to a tremendous increase in the middleman's business. The "Penny-merchants" of the 14th Century were seen as a social danger. With the increase in capital, the use of capital likewise underwent important changes. Trade, which up to this time was largely based on cash payments, changed to the utilization of credit and bills of exchange.² In 1391 the city council of Frankfurt prosecuted a merchant because he dealt with bills of exchange. But in 1402 the same city established a bank and furnished credit which came partly from public coiffers. One year later Frankfurt had already four banks and two-thirds of the profit which was collected by the city council amounted to the yearly sum of 30,000 marks. The activities of banks soon expanded into the fields of deposits and the clearing house business. Around the middle of the 15th Century, all necessary forms of credit were well established. A system of legal protection for the borrower developed at the same time. Forms of seizure and the withdrawal of citizenship, which were connected with the

¹Gierke, op. cit., I, 980.

²Charles Woolsey Cole, Sheperd Bancroft Clough, Economic History of Europe (D. C. Heath and Company, Boston, 1952, p. 77).

right to exercise a trade, were among the most useful measures to enforce honesty and protect the money-lending institutions. The city of Nuernberg built a pawnshop and drove the Jews out of the town. In Augsburg, all pawnbrokers business became monopolized by the city. At a time when the idea of credit and interest was ethically unacceptable to the larger part of the population the general economic climate was already so far advanced as to include credit institutions for craftsmen in need of capital.¹

Slowly the original cooperative form of business associations changed into a capitalistic form. Private wealth, still the backbone of all business, was subjected to the danger of dispersion due to inheritance. While the nobility resorted to the birth right of the oldest son to avoid the splitting of the family holdings, the new rising class of businessmen revived the old Teutonic "Ganerbschaft." All inheritors of a family fortune took part in the undivided legacy. This practice led to the formation of the trading company which, due to its impersonal character, developed capitalistic characteristics. To share the risks of pirates and nature, merchants formed capital associations. To buy one-sixteenth of a ship and its freight and share to the same degree in the profit became a common practice.² The average profit rate in 1438 was estimated to consist of 430 per cent to 450 per cent per year.³

¹Heaton, op. cit., p. 189.

²Heaton, op. cit., p. 180.

³Johannes Janssen, History of the German People (London, Dryden House, Gerrard Street W., 1905), Vol. II.

The commerical expansion soon led to the formation of monopolies. The flow of oriental goods from Italy became subject to price arrangements among the German importers. The Reformation of Emperor Sigmund in 1439 demanded the abolition of monopolies. Luther preached against the abuses of monopolies and the manipulation of the market to create scarcities. Imperial decrees in 1512, 1521, 1524, 1529, 1530, 1532, and 1548, tried to abolish monopolies. The success was only marginal. Within two centuries, the whole economic system of Europe had expanded to form an integrated and interrelated market. The nature of the business organization changed during this time from a cooperative partnership system to a capitalisticly, profit-oriented, impersonal company system.¹ The medieval cooperative originally centred around the individual. It recognized work as the dominant economic power. Capital, insofar as it played an economic role, was subjected to the ethical demands which derived from the value of work. It was part of the cooperative nature of the economic group. Within two centuries all this had changed. Capital, not the individual, played the dominant role. The social consequences of this change were enormous.

THE STRUCTURAL CHANGES IN URBAN SOCIETY

The occupational guilds of the west are the best-known forms of medieval association, familiar both on account of their long postmedieval career, and because they had early lent themselves to the ordering of economic and political life in urban society. Their traditions of corporate charity and piety further attest that they were once genuine communities within the larger

¹Preserved Smith, The Social Background of the Reformation (New York, Collier Books, 1962) p. 79.

community, with a social and religious character transcending mere economic interest and struggle for power.¹

Some of the peculiar social characteristics of the guilds are enumerated as follows:

With functions transcending economic purposes, the guild was in many respects the projection of the natural form of human association, the family, into the life of society. It was the grouping of a number of large family like groups, which not only worked together, but lived under a single roof. The guilds were conceived of also as organs for the realization of a higher order. Most immediately they were members of their political community and were bound to exert their energies toward achieving its material and spiritual health. The material aspects had to be judged and ordered by Christian ideals. Acquisitive desire was sinful and had to be transformed into the mere demand for earning enough to gain the necessities customary for one's station.

Everybody was to work for his upkeep, but not at the expense of his fellow man or his fellow class. There was a "just" price for all products of labor, and the regulation of prices by the authorities was considered to be as normal as their rules for the spending habits of the various classes. The Church sanctioned this order, and as she endeavored to lead all social organization to a Christian life, the guilds naturally became agencies for the stimulation of prayer and worship. The many chapels and altars given by guilds testify to their consciousness of spiritual partnership.²

Technically the guild system did not divide work among guild members on the basis of technical specialization. For instance, the guild clothing worker did not specialize on a particular process such as spinning, weaving or dyeing; rather, one worker would be engaged solely in the manufacture of coats, another in the manufacture of hose, and so on.³ The specialization of the guild system referred to the

¹M. M. Postan, E. E. Rich and Edward Miller, The Cambridge Economic History of Europe, (Cambridge at the University Press 1963) p. 230.

²Hajo Holborn, A History of Modern Germany (Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1959) p. 71.

³Max Weber, General Economic History, translated by Frank H. Knight, (Glencoe, Ill., Free Press, 1950), p. 139.

end product rather than the technical process involved. The original craft of the blacksmith, for instance, had undergone numerous divisions into wagon smith, knife smith, sickle smith, sword maker, etc.

This type of specialization was related to the two principle aims of the guild system. First, the guild tried to preserve equality, at least among the masters of the Craft.¹ To this end, the guild, above all, tried to prevent the growth of unduly wealthy masters. Thus technological change was strictly forbidden, lest some masters be able to produce more and at less cost than other masters.² For the same reasons, techniques were minutely regulated, even to the specification of the tools that could be used; the number of apprentices and journey-men that each master could employ, and the level of wages and hours. Access to raw material was also controlled. The craft or town bought the material and sold it to its masters, thereby preventing wealthier masters from securing a monopoly of raw materials. The second aim of the guild system was to maintain its economic position in society. Besides the political measures to prevent competition from other non-organized crafts, mainly the peasant-craftsmen, the guild strove to gain a monopoly of its craft in a given area by making membership compulsory.

In the logical extreme the guild system tended toward a static collectivism, militantly "kapitalfeindlich" (hostile toward capital).³

¹Ibid., p. 136.

²Henri Pirenne, "Guilds, European," Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936), Vol. 7, pp. 208-214.

³M. M. Postan et. al., op. cit., p. 231.

With the rising importance of the crafts in the cities, the guilds soon became competitors of the ruling patricians. By the end of the 13th century the guilds had secured for themselves the governmental functions of most German cities. The city councils usually were elected by the various guilds while the representation of the old class of urban patricians had been greatly reduced. The guilds fought a long and bitter struggle to retain the cooperative-collective system on which they rested. However, great many changes were inevitable. The economic interest of the guilds led to a profound division between the city and the surrounding country. The monopoly of the guilds resulted in the suppression of competitors in rural areas.

M. M. Postan et. al. comment on this:

In the circumstances of urban trade recession in which many of the fourteenth-and fifteenth-century guilds were organized, they could have done little to promote their member's interests save through political schemes for drawing business to themselves to the detriment of neighbouring small towns and villages.¹

Since the guilds dominated the city councils, the policy of the cities were designed to achieve the economic goals which the guilds pursued. In spite of all precautionary rules and regulations, some masters soon were able to accumulate capital. At first this capital could only be invested in property where it produced rent. But, as early as 1363, guild members were able to break out of the restricting ethic of the traditional guilds and formed wealthy guild systems of their own.² Guilds developed in which the membership depended on the existence of

¹Ibid., p. 231.

²Frederic Austin, Economic Development of Modern Europe (The Macmillan Company, 1920), p. 58.

a certain capital. At the same time, the formation of monopolies and price arrangements led to the further accumulation of capital. The city of Nuernberg had to build breweries of its own to break the monopoly of the wealthy brewmasters. The Reformation of Emperor Sigmund in 1439 demanded the abolition of the guilds to which many of the social ills of the time were attributed.

The capitalistic transformation of the guilds resulted in the formation of a large city proletariat. The many guild masters who could not compete with their wealthier colleagues attempted to specialize in a branch which was still free from competition. A greater and greater division of labor was the result. Other guild masters tried to combine their craft with a retail trade. The wealthier masters withdrew from the exercise of their trade and concentrated on the marketing of goods produced by other masters. The putting-out system in the form of the urban house industry developed. The craftsman still owned his house and his tools, however, in terms of capital, raw material and marketing he depended on the capitalistic entrepreneur.¹

With the change in the nature of the guild system, other important social changes occurred. The apprentice and the journeymen who, in the old days of the guild system, were part of the household, became alienated from their masters. Originally the position of the journeyman was a transitional state from apprentice to master. With the increase of wealth and the transformation of the guild character, the position of master became unobtainable to the journeymen. To be master became an inheritance and not an achievement. Originally, the master was hardly

¹Smith, op. cit., p. 89.

allowed to have more than one journeyman. With the capitalistic transformation of the guilds, masters acquired four, five, and more journeymen who no longer lived in the household of their masters. The original transitional position of the journeyman developed into the role of a skilled laborer. These laborers could not identify themselves with the interests of the guild system and developed organizations of their own.

Journeymen associations provided protection against sickness and poverty which originally was provided by the masters. They build social centres and hostels. The relationship between master and journeymen became subject to contractual arrangements. Neglect of duty on the part of a journeyman was punished by masters with exclusion from any employment. The journeymen associations attempted to regulate this on a contractual basis. The regulation of the working day and the right to work for themselves were demands which were repeated from time to time by the journeymen.¹

In time, the journeymen associations succeeded in controlling the technical and social future of their craft due to their influence on the education of apprentices. They achieved a measure of control through their representatives in the administration of the guild.

The formation of a class of wealthy masters and a class of dependent workers coincided with the development of a city proletariat. The city needed for its various functions a great number of people ready to do the various manual tasks. The city market depended on the

¹Austin, op. cit., p. 58.

carriers and teamsters. The city administration needed civil servants, the various business enterprises, particularly the trading companies, employed servants for menial work. Manpower was particularly needed to assure the defence of the city and the building industry was unthinkable without a certain reservoir of hired help. Many of these occupational categories were organized in guild systems during the 13th and 14th centuries. With the capitalistic transformation of the guilds the members of these organizations were reduced to the status of day laborers. Due to the extraordinary mortality rate of the cities, new individuals were constantly attracted by them. The cities recruited their manual laborers from the marginal farmers who had lost the self-sufficient basis due to constant divisions of acreages among sons. Gardeners, vine-growers and marginal farmers had lost their economic basis and flocked to the cities. They formed a group of necessary but disenfranchised outcasts who built their dwellings around the city walls. To control the inflow of new immigrants to the cities, evidence of wealth was made a criteria for the granting of citizenship. The city of Ulm, beginning in 1417, granted citizenship only to those who had at least a fortune of 3,000 marks. When cities were in need of manpower, runaway serfs were declared free after they had lived in a city for one year. Other cities established a second degree citizenship which was granted to those whose political influence was undesirable from the point of view of the guild governments.

The close of the Middle Ages, then, saw the guild movement infiltrating urban administration in all parts of western Europe. Their many-sidedness shows that the guilds were able to command the loyalty and energies of the artisan elite as no other organization could. This made them both useful and dangerous. Their high development of corporate responsibility made it seem natural to load upon them duties of defence and police. . . .

The very same corporate sense caused them to bring conflict of interest into the open with a vigour that often threatened public order.¹

The guilds controlled the personnel and economic policy of many cities.² They instituted trade regulations, maintained trade inspectors and established trade courts. They released themselves from military duty, borrowed money as a corporation, imposed taxes and formed monopolies and interest groups. With the introduction of the guild constitutions in the cities the number of city council members increased to nearly one hundred. The administration of cities through such a parliament ran into great difficulties. With factions and cliques in the city council, corruption became widespread. This development did not stop with the corruption of council members and judges, but permeated the whole system of law. A complete legal system evolved, particularly in the area of taxes, which burdened the emerging lower classes and favored the guilds.³

All these difficulties were well recognized during the first half of the 15th Century.⁴ The Reformation of Emperor Sigmund (1439) demanded the abolition of the guilds and tried to correct the corruption. Various movements influenced by Hussites and Taborites tried to institute reforms which were designed to check the accumulation of wealth by the large merchant companies, abolish monopolies, reform the guilds and democratize city life for the lower classes. Most of all, the

¹Postan et. al., op. cit., pp. 244-45.

²State intervention regarding the guilds in England, see Austin, op. cit., p. 56.

³Smith, op. cit., p. 101.

⁴Heaton, op. cit., p. 222.

sovereignty of the city council as an administrative organ independent from the guilds was attempted. During the 15th Century difficulties between the community, the city council and the guilds arose in Luebeck, Wismar, Rostock, Hamburg, Magdeburg, Bautzen and Goerlitz. Rebellions against the intolerable conditions occurred in Erfurt, Bamberg, Aachen, Koeln, Mainz, Speyer, Strassburg and Konstanz.¹

With the exception of Strassburg, none of these reform movements were successful. Twenty per cent of the population of Hamburg was penniless in the second half of the 15th Century. Augsburg had 3,000 inhabitants or twelve to fifteen per cent of the population who had neither property nor regular income.

Within two centuries, the collectively-cooperatively oriented communities of the German cities had disintegrated. The rise of a capitalistic money economy together with the capitalistic transformation of the guild system destroyed the medieval structure based on collective and cooperative action. It gave rise to the formation of a capitalistic oriented upper class which controlled the political machinery and the emergence of a city proletariat which was largely disenfranchised.²

Some idea of the class-antagonisms of the period may be gathered from the statement of Ulrich von Hutten, in his dialogue entitled "Predones," that there were four orders of robbers in Germany - the knights, the lawyers, the priests, and the merchant-traders (meaning especially the new capitalist merchant-traders or syndicates.) Of these, he declares the robber-knights to be

¹Ibid., p. 213.

²Holborn, op. cit., p.72.

least harmful.¹

THE STRUCTURAL CHANGES IN THE RURAL COMMUNITIES

To analyze the structural changes in the rural communities of Germany from the 14th to the 16th Century a characterization of the "Markgenossenschaft" is essential. The German term "Markgenossenschaft" stands for a rural form of organization which developed out of the military organization of the "Hundertschaft," (an organized body of a hundred men.) At a time when the Germanic tribes began to settle in Germany, the "Hundertschaft" changed from a military unit to an economic unit. However, the communistic characteristics of the military unit of the "Hundertschaft" which consisted in an ethical, moral, political, legal, and economic "Lebensgemeinschaft" were maintained. At first each "Hundertschaft" received a certain parcel of land, usually determined by lot, which was worked by the "Hundertschaft" communally. After the harvest, the land fell back to the tribe, and the distribution of land in the following year was again determined by lot. This system changed during the centuries up to a point where the "Hundertschaft" established a right to a certain parcel of land. With the establishment of permanent buildings, it became impractical to move every year to a new place. Once the "Hundertschaft" settled at a permanent place, land was soon distributed among families or kinship groups. Usually a certain piece of land was cleared by common labor, divided in equal parts and distributed among the warriors. The status

¹E. Belfort Bax, The Peasants War in Germany, 1525-1526, (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1899) p. 6.

and the role of the warrior determined his rights to an equal share of land. The amount of land was determined by the need of one family and the working capacity of one plow. Each individual part was called a "Hufe." Beyond the cleared fields there remained the so-called "Allmende" (or common) the communally owned lands. The "genossenschaftliche Denkungsweise" (communally orientated mode of thinking) defined the "Allmende" as the property of all members of the community. But it was not only the communal possession which was of importance but also the communal use of this land. The individual member of the community had the right to hunt and fish on the "Allmende," he could use it as pasture, he had an established right to the common water resources and access to lumber for fuel and construction. Only two factors limited the individual's access to these communally owned lands--the economic need of the individual and the decision of the community council. As long as there was enough land under the "Allmende" available, community restrictions were relatively scarce. Individual members of the community were allowed to clear land for their private use and retain it as their property. However, the equal possession of land changed slowly and a group of large landowners emerged. This trend was accelerated through large gifts made by emperors and kings to faithful servants.¹ When land became more scarce, the "Markgenossenschaft" developed an extensive legal and executive system, regulating the access of each member to the communally owned Allmende. This legal and executive system formed the organizational basis of the village

¹Holborn, op. cit., p. 17.

community. A further organizing factor was present in the legal jurisdiction which originally rested with the old "Hundertschaft." Civil and criminal law cases were subject to the common law jurisdiction of the military unit. With the social and economic changes that took place, there developed a system of higher and lower courts. What remained however, was the right of the individual member to partake in the election of the judges and to participate as jurors.

The "Markgenossenschaft" was an organic unit, a "Lebensgemeinschaft" in the true sense of the word. It was based on the cooperative principle in which each individual member shared equally in the rights and the duties of the "Markgenossenschaft" as a whole. It contained a well-defined social and ethical constellation highly meaningful and functional under existing conditions. The destruction of this system was brought about mainly by two factors. Firstly, by the emergence of large landowners due to the bestowal of gifts to servants of kings, by donations to the church and, on a smaller scale, acquisition through clearing of communal land. Secondly, by the increase in population which led to the formation of more and more "Markgenossenschaften" until no more free land was available. With the scarcity of land the old "Hufe" as a family unit became divided among sons. The result was that the economic basis of the individual became smaller and smaller and reached a point where it ceased to provide a living.

Around 1100, it was already very rare to find a "Hufe" which was temporarily without an owner. In the late 14th Century the quarter "Hufe" had become the average size agricultural unit in most of the fertile areas of Germany.¹

¹Lamprecht, op. cit., V, 1, pp. 90-91.

The formation of a class of small farmers, gardeners and rural house-owners had a detrimental effect on the original constitution of the "Markgenossenschaft." Regulations regarding the lumber, water and pasture rights became very detailed. Even the cutting of grass along the roadsides became subject to regulations and distribution among members of the "Markgenossenschaft." Large landowners acquired judicial rights through the absorption of peasant land. Soon these rights of large landowners became so extensive that the "Markgenossenschaft" lost its judicial functions to the landowners altogether. However, the large landholdings also underwent extensive changes. Instead of working the land themselves, landowners rented their land to landless peasants. A class of small peasants emerged which was completely dependent upon the class of large landowners. The uncertainty regarding the extension and duration of the lease was a powerful weapon in the hands of the landowners, enabling them to demand higher and higher rents. They quickly discovered that the overall amount of rent could be increased by renting out a large number of small pieces of land rather than a small number of large ones. As a result, the holdings became smaller and smaller until they reached a point where the peasants were unable to pay the demanded rent. This was the point at which the landowners introduced serfdom. In order to secure the rent, the peasant became completely dependent on the landlord, who at this time exercised all political and economic controls and could interfere with the private life of the individual at will.¹

¹Austin, op. cit., p. 392.

Landowners at the same time invaded the rights of the "Markgenossenschaft" regarding the "Allmende." The hunting and fishing rights were taken away from the "Markgenossenschaft." With the fishing rights went the rights to free access to water resources. The whole peasant scene during these centuries became a field of reckless exploitation by large landowners of which the church of course was one. Various burdens such as the right of the landowner to take the best of the cattle in case of death reduced the economic basis of the peasants more and more. To convert peasants who were still free to serfs, it became fashionable to require a peasant who married a serf to become a serf also. Arbitration by the nobility in the issuing and the exercise of rules and regulations became a norm.¹

The original military significance of the "Markgenossenschaft" likewise changed. The armies of knights from the 11th to the 14th centuries had no place for the peasant. With the invention of gunpowder and the disappearance of the knights, a mercenary system evolved which had no organic connection with the social organization of the rural life. Landless peasants offered themselves for hire and fought for or against each and everyone, as long as the pay was forthcoming. The judicial functions of the "Markgenossenschaft," its military significance and power of making decisions was lost.

The accumulation of capital in the cities led to investments in rural areas. Some cities, particularly in Switzerland, where a system of city states evolved, bought up large tracts of land including all the rights that went with the possession of this land. The exercise of these rights now was performed in an impersonal way. The capitalist

¹Lamprecht, op. cit., V, 1, pp. 94-95.

in the city or the city administration had little or no connection with the reality of peasant life. What mattered was the payment of the rent. Reductions of rent due to war or natural calamities were disallowed. The buying and selling of land resulted in a wide distribution of the rights that went with them. It happened time and again that the right to conduct the lower court was in different hands than the right to conduct the higher court. The rights which allowed for the use of a road could be in different hands than the rights which allowed for the use of a bridge.¹ All of these sometimes petty rights were subject to payments in various forms. The priesthood even went a step further and demanded payment over and above the traditional incomes for conducting baptism, funerals, marriages and even ringing the bell.

With the availability of credit, many peasants had to resort to borrowing in order to pay their debts. The interest rate for long range loans which originally were available for 10 per cent interest and later decreased to 4 per cent, were not available for many peasants. Short range loans demanded 30 to 50 per cent interest and went as high as 80 per cent. Much of this business was in the hands of Jews. While the local sovereigns did their utmost to press as much money as possible out of the Jews, the peasants developed an intense hatred against the money lenders.² The priests and the Jews were often seen as exponents of the worst aspects of the money economy. The 15th century Jews lived in constant fear of rural rebellions. The Jews

¹Austin, op. cit., p. 39.

²Janssen, op. cit., II, pp. 75-77.

were driven out of Saxonia in 1432, from Bavaria in 1450, in 1453 from Wuerzburg and in 1470 from Mainz. Peasant rebellions against Jews took place in 1391 in Goslar and in Worms in 1431.

The transformation of free peasants running their own organic cooperative communities toward a completely dependent, exploited and despised rural proletariat was the result of the centuries preceding the Reformation.

There was, however, still another important development. The 14th, 15th and 16th centuries in Germany saw the rise of the local sovereign. The acquisition of powers by these local sovereigns were established in a struggle which took place on two fronts. The emerging princes and bishops succeeded in reducing the power of the Emperor in their own favor on one hand, and acquired the rights of peasant organizations on the other. The influence of the lower nobility at the same time was also reduced by the local sovereign.¹ Without any other economic basis than the peasantry, the lower nobility resorted to extreme forms of exploitation. In 1502 the sovereigns demanded, that the "Robber Knights" should at least leave the peasants and vine growers in peace while they were going about their daily work. This, like all the rest of similar demands, was of no avail.

The foundation of the legal system up to this time still consisted of the cooperative common law which was based on the concept of the original "Markgenossenschaften." With the rise of a money economy in the cities and the development of local political systems, the variety,

¹Holborn, op. cit., p. 33.

and contradictions of the common law codes proved to be impractical for the rising classes of capitalists and local sovereigns. As a result, the Roman Law was introduced into Germany. Developed in ancient Rome, the Roman law was the product of an intellectual, rational environment, characterized by the existence of a large scale slave economy. A relatively small number of patricians managed masses of slaves employed in large scale agricultural industries. The result was a legal system which was based on an extremely individualisticly orientated capitalism. Rome, in 104 A.D., had, according to the judgment of a Roman Consul, only 2,000 individuals with a fortune. The political and economic struggle in ancient Rome was the struggle between the ruling families where the most daring and lucky family headed the capitalistic bureaucratic super-organization of the state.

The common law in Germany was based on an ethical cooperative nature. It did not know any abstract individualism. The concept of the legal body was absent, no substitutes in legal affairs were known. Property existed only in relation to social rights and social duties. It never was an object of individual rule or arbitration.

The Roman and the Common Law clashed like fire and water. Supported by local sovereigns and the ruling classes in the cities, the introduction of this law led to a complete confusion of the legal situation among peasants and the city proletariat. An intense hatred of the Roman Law echoed throughout the 15th Century.¹ The legal rights of the "Markgenossenschaft" were not perceivable under Roman Law.

¹Janssen, op. cit., II, p. 105.

The Roman Law fostered contractual not social relationship.¹ The proponents of the Roman Law were accused of being cavillers and pettifogging lawyers. The demand for the reconstitution of the "Old Rights" swept over the country and became the outcry of the peasant war of 1525. While the material development of Germany moved into a direction which was closer to the Roman Law than the German Common Law, the lower classes were frightened and disturbed by a Law which took away all the remaining foundations of the social life which still had some meaning.² The lower classes who were already economically and politically alienated by being separated from a meaningful and satisfying participation in the social institutions of their society now lost even the legal understanding of the world around them.³

THE MERGER OF SOCIAL DEMANDS AND RELIGIOUS IDEAS

Medieval Christianity always contained to a certain degree elements of a communistic-socialistic character.⁴ The rural period of the communistically oriented "Markgenossenschaft" found its urban organization in the equally cooperatively oriented guilds. Both forms of social organization could hardly have played such an important part if the religious ideology would not have been in favor of these social institutions. The teachings of the New Testament do have a strong tendency

¹William J. Bossenbrook, The German Mind, (Wayne State University Press, 1961) p. 133.

²Leopold von Ranke, Deutsche Geschichte in Zeitalter der Reformation, (Wien, J.M. Phaidon-Verlag, 1934) p. 331.

³Janssen, op. cit., p. 104.

⁴Ernst Troeltsch, The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches (New York, The Macmillan Company 1931), Vol. I, p. 253.

toward social justice even if these teachings point more in the direction of an ethical perfection in peace and justice rather than to suggest the communistic fulfillment in concrete institutions. The communistic convictions of the Apostles and the church fathers came close to the ideal of the "Markgenossenschaft" and must have made it easier for the Germanic tribes to adopt Christianity. The communistic ideal never completely died out in the life of the church, no matter in what contrast to this the church practice in reality developed. Asceticism as a Christian ideal which found fulfillment in complete frugality caught the imagination of the people the greater the contrast between the different classes became. The misery of the lower classes received from these sources an idealistic splendour. The beggar monks who practiced asceticism became the darlings of the lower classes. The figure of Christ, as the poor son of a carpenter, became a symbol with which the lower classes identified themselves. The Christ of poverty and of social justice became subject to the sentimental glorification of those whose only hope consisted in the life to come after death.

The Christian dogmas, originally resting on a spiritual foundation, became transformed into concrete sensuous components. God, the devil, heaven, and hell became clearly defined concrete objects, subject to institutional and individual manipulation. The nature of these objects and their meanings to the individual determined to a great extent the personality structure particularly of the lower classes.

The concept of salvation reserved for the life after death suddenly became placed in the life of the day. The oppressed classes of society refused to be satisfied with justice handed out at some future time. Christ exercised and demonstrated justice in the world. Consequently there could be and moreover there should be justice in this

world. Karl Mannheim in Ideology and Utopia writes:

The decisive turning point in modern history was, from the point of view of our problem, the moment in which "Chiliasm" joined forces with the active demands of the oppressed strata of society.¹

The existence of divine justice which would correct the injustice on earth; the concept of equality of all men whether king or peasant before God, served as idealistic foci for the lower classes. Demands for social justice more and more became transformed into demands for the justice of God on earth.

For the exploited classes, salvation here on earth and salvation in heaven became one. The first leading up to and being a preparation for the second. The social justice on earth and the divine justice of God referred to one and the same thing.² Inequalities and social injustice were seen as being caused by human frailties and weaknesses. To go back to the original order of God, demonstrated in the life and the teachings of His son, became the hope of the masses.

The teachings of Wycliff modified by Huss swept over the middle of Europe at the beginning of the 15th Century. They demanded the establishment of an international socialism in their manifestos. The Reformation of Emperor Sigmund echoed the social criticism and suggested various reforms. The early humanists were keenly interested in the social disorder. They criticized, ridiculed and condemned the wrongs in society.

The example of Switzerland caught the imagination of the German people. This part of the German empire was able to shake off the yoke

¹Karl Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1936) p. 211.

²Janssen, op. cit., II, p. 137.

of the local sovereigns and retain its own system of self-government. While the city states in Switzerland developed the same urban characteristics as all the other cities, the city states themselves were free from all other governmental rule.

In 1462 the peasants of the Pinsgau and from the Brixental in the Tyrol rebelled against their Archbishop. There were peasant uprisings in Bavaria and in Friesland in 1492. A period of urban rebellions began in Rotenburg in 1450, Vienna 1462, and 1500, Aachen 1477, Cologne 1482. Rostock, Braunschweig and Osnabrueck in 1488, and Augsburg in 1491, to mention only a few. The "Bundschuh," the militant organization of peasants, began to emerge around the middle of the 15th Century. Hans Boehm, a village musician burned his drum during a solemn ceremony in front of the church and began to preach a socialist-theocratic reform plan for Germany. The existing church, he said, was unchristian and unnecessary. The differences between the classes should be abolished. He prophesied a time when the princes and the emperor would have to work like everyone else. He was promptly burned at the stake.

The peasant Joss Fritz spent a lifetime of agitation and organization in the valleys of the Schwarzwald, demanding an organizational reform of society. The capitalistic cancer was to be abolished and the class structure of society changed in favor of a powerful Emperor. The system of local sovereigns was to be abolished.

At the beginning of the 16th Century a new series of uprisings occurred. The peasants of Bern, Luzern and Solothurn in Switzerland rebelled against the rule of their city governments. The peasants in Steiermark, Kaernten and Krain lost their fight against the exploitation of their local sovereigns.

The demands for a social reorganization of the country became more and more identified with the demands for divine justice.¹ The slogan of divine justice became the essence of all programs. The hopes of the exploited peasants, the demands of the city proletariat, the fight of the journeymen for independence and respectability, were all framed, justified, and expressed in the demand and hope for God's divine justice. God's justice became the focal point of all social action, it served as a focal point for an ecstatic fanaticism that caught those classes who drifted along outside the new capitalistic and territorial interests. These classes saw their redemption in a return to the "Old Right" and the old order. The meaningful and functional relationships as they existed in the "Markgenossenschaft" and the guild system achieved the glory of a golden age. The fight for the justice of God and the fight for the Old Order became one.² The peasants along the upper Rhine who rebelled in 1502 wrote on their flags: "Nothing but the justice of God."³ The storm broke out in the great uprisings of the Peasants War of 1525.

THE CHANGING MEDIEVAL CHURCH

A short analysis of the changes within the church might begin with Pope Gregory VII (1073-85). Gregory VII launched the Hildebrandine reform aimed at correcting the chief church abuses of simony, lay

¹Von Ranke, op. cit., p. 322.

²Holborn, op. cit., p. 62.

³Janssen, op. cit., II, pp. 296-298.

investiture, and violation of clerical celibacy. The German King Henry IV sided with the powerful anti-reform party that feared the domination of the church. Pope and Emperor struggled for the supremacy of their offices. This political struggle between Emperor and Pope determined the development of the church for the next few centuries. It made the church keenly aware of and intimately concerned with the political power structure of Europe. The result of this involvement was the secularization of the church in legal, political and fiscal terms.

Beginning with Calixtus III (1455-58) who established the power of the Borgia family in Italy, the Popes as heads of the "Patrimonium Petri" in effect acted as the representatives of their respective families. The fiscal administration and the spiritual power of the church were used for the economic and the political ends of the family empires. Simony and hedonism had found its way into the upper ranks of the church hierarchy. The Franciscan bishop Alvaro Pelayo (1350) repeated what many others felt during this time: "The priesthood had become the usufructuary of the church."¹

The secularization of the upper church hierarchy found its way into the lower ranks through the arbitrary handling of church powers. The spiritual powers of the church were used indiscriminately to achieve political and economic ends. In 1307 about half of the living Christians were excommunicated by the feuding popes. During the 15th century princes and cities negotiated contracts in which they commonly agreed to disregard cases of excommunication. Around 1500 excommunication was

¹Ibid., pp. 296-298.

not subject to fear among the upper classes but the object of ridicule.

Simony proved to be a never receding source of income for the Pope, and also had the effect of accumulating several church offices in one hand. This led to absenteeism in church offices. At the end of the 15th century the percentage of priests residing with their congregation was only seven per cent.

An intricate system of taxation had developed and became more extensive as the insatiable church bureaucracy undertook a fine division of its services making each service subject to a duty or fee. The annates, a year's revenue due to the pope for the bestowal of a church office, could ruin a country when due to death the office was bestowed several times during a relatively short time. The sale of indulgences is well known. In Konstanz, 1,500 children were born each year to the priesthood in the bishopric. Far from being concerned with the moral aspects of this, the bishop converted the remarkable fertility of his priests into an income by collecting four rhenish florins for each child.¹

The higher church offices in Germany were a monopoly of the nobility. The pastoral duties of the higher clergy were reduced to empty rituals. The real interests of the churchly princes consisted in the accumulation of economic and political powers. At the end of the 15th century one-third of the acreage in Germany was in the hands of the church. In the bishopric of Worms it amounted to three-fourths of the acreage. To some extent church offices became family property.

¹O. Farner, Huldrych Zwingli, Vol. III, (Zwingli-Verlag, Zürich, 1954.) p. 24.

Between 1450 and 1520 five princes of the house of Savoyen became bishops of Geneva. Two of them at the age of eight years. There was no connection between the higher clergy and the people in terms of pastoral duties. A complete separation of the two had taken place and the only connections that existed were those of exploitation through various taxes and the sale of rituals.

The lower clergy deteriorated under such a system and formed a spiritual proletariat. Breslau had at the end of the 15th century 236 priests who were supposed to read daily mass at two churches. Zuerich, in 1518, had 290 monks and priests. Basel, in 1526, had more than 200 priests. The total number of priests, monks and nuns in Germany was estimated as reaching about 1,400,000. To compare some city populations with these numbers, Munich and Cologne had a population of about 40,000; Mainz, Regensburg and Wuerzburg, 6,000. About one twentieth of the city population consisted of priests, one tenth consisted of priests, nuns and monks.

The educational level of the lower clergy reached an all time low standard. Many of them could scarcely read or write.

The greater number of churches whose pastors had accumulated a great number of church offices and lived somewhere in the city were in effect administered by this spiritual proletariat. There were cases where the priest terminated the reading of the mass when he thought that the offering of the congregation was not large enough. Due to the financial orientation of the priesthood, the traffic in images increased enormously. The church became a place where the pictures of those individuals were displayed who had enough money to buy such a right. In short, the manipulative power of the priesthood regarding

the supernatural was for sale to the highest bidder.

The abuses and misuses of the church offices created an intensive hatred particularly among the peasants against the money-hungry priesthood. Hans Boehm, the drummer who became an agitator for social justice, preached that every peasant who would kill thirty priests would be amply rewarded by God.¹

The thirty articles of the rebellious peasants (1521) of which Ulrich von Hutten was probably the author, expressed the popular sentiments of the lower classes in an unmistakable language.² These peasants promised to hold that:

1. Priests should not be called spiritual fathers anymore but carnal rogues.
2. To perceive all monks as hypocrites from which no good can be derived.
3. To respect excommunication as if a goose would try to blow against them.
4. To refuse to support convents, monasteries, pilgrimages, indulgences, etc.
5. To see in the Roman pope the Antichrist and be against him all the time.
6. To hold that Cardinals, Protonarien, Officialien, Bishops, Auditors and others are the devil's apostles.
7. To call the Roman Court the vestibule of hell.

Articles 9 to 20 propose to use violence against various church officials including their courtesans.

Article 21 states that no priest should be tolerated unless he preaches the evangelium and the Christian law, and conducts himself as an honorable, pious person.

¹Lamprecht, op. cit., p. 123.

²Gottfried Arnold, Kirchen-und Ketzerhistorie, Volumes III and IV, (Franckfurt am Mayn, bey Thomas Fritschens sel. Erben 1729,) pp. 392-393.

Article 22 demands that no priest should be tolerated who does not take care of his congregation personally. Article 23 demands the abolition of all images whether in gold, stone, wood. Article 24 demands the abolition of all holidays except Sunday. The article 25 is concerned with the consecration of food, etc., and articles 26 and 27 propose again acts of violence against priests and travelling monks who display sacred objects. Articles 28 and 29 express the allegiance of the peasants with Dr. Martin Luther and their intention to inquire about the conduct of the confession. In articles 30 the peasants call to God as witness that they do not intend to act according to their personal wishes but for the sake of the divine truth, the Christian belief and the welfare of the country. All their deeds are claimed to come from Christian, honorable and good intentions. "These were revolutionary ideas," wrote the German historian Leopold von Ranke, "as they appeared again only during the French Revolution."¹

THE ROLE OF THE HUMANISTS

Humanism found its way into Germany via Italy. A few Italian scholars taught in Prague during the middle of the 14th century. Many German scholars visited Italy and were influenced by the humanistic schools in that country. However, most of the early German humanists had little influence in their own country due to the radicalism with which they rejected the old ideas and institutions.² Scholasticism,

¹Von Ranke, op. cit. p. 332.

²Janssen, op. cit., III, p. 2.

the dominant philosophy of the church, was based on the established Aristotelian teachings. A drastic change in scholasticism came about only when school teachers became influenced by humanistic ideas and adapted them to German conditions. During the latter half of the 15th century, nine new universities were established. Most of these universities conducted their teachings in the medieval scholastic tradition. The universities in effect were church institutions designed to educate the clergy. The faculty of arts existed as a type of secondary school very much on the same level as the faculty of medicine. The faculties of law and of theology formed the higher fields of learning.¹

The University of Vienna was the first to introduce regular lectures in the humanistic fashion. As early as 1454 lectures in poetry and mathematics were given. During the next fifty years most of the art faculties became permeated with the new humanistic world of ideas. As students and teachers moved into the scholastic faculties of law and theology these also became transformed. The establishment of new language faculties had a decisive influence on the whole movement. The ancient Hebrew language had almost died out. In a dramatic fight against the fanatical clergy, the German humanist Reuchlin saved the Hebrew books in Cologne from being destroyed. The accessibility of the Bible in Hebrew led to new interpretations and widespread attempts to find the true meaning of the word.

Medieval scholasticism made the attempt to verify by reason

¹Lamprecht, op. cit., V, p. 200.

what faith received on the authority of the church. When this attempt failed it became clear that no conclusions could be reached on the basis of rational inquiry, leaving no other warrant for the church dogmas except the authority of the church itself. This discrepancy led to skepticism and the notion that a thing may be true in theology and false in philosophy. In this air of uncertainty and skepticism a revival of learning took place. The church fathers were brought out of obscurity and studied in their original tongues. Moreover, their writings were critically compared with the existing dogma. The attempt of the fanatical monks of Cologne to destroy all books in Hebrew was designed to prevent a comparison of the original texts and the Church dogma. The Italian humanists went a step further and revived the Greek philosophers. In the absence of any accepted meaningful Christian philosophy besides dogmatic scholasticism, these humanists found it easy to take possession of a vacated field by resorting to Greek philosophical thought. In Germany, on the other hand, the new learning was cultivated in a religious spirit. The study of the Bible led to an increase in the liberal thinking, an increase in critical inquiry and a tendency to reform the existing dogma. It is impossible in this context to describe the diversity of the humanistic movement in Germany. Any particular school could not be taken as being representative of all the others. However, the greatest among the humanists in Germany without a doubt was Erasmus von Rotterdam. Born in Rotterdam he visited England and Italy and undertook lecture tours through Germany. When he finally settled in Basel, Switzerland, he was regarded as the intellectual-satirical genius of Europe.¹

¹Janssen, op. cit., III, p. 12.

His "Praise of Folly" and in particular, the "Colloquies" in which idleness, the illiteracy, self-indulgence, and the artificial and useless austerities of the "religious" were handled in the most diverting style were read with infinite amusement by all who sympathized with the new studies, and by thousands who did not calculate the effect of this telling satire in abating popular reverence for the Church. . . .

All classes came in for their share of ridicule. Grammarians and pedagogues, in the fetid atmosphere of their schoolrooms, bawling at their boys and beating them; scholastic theologians wrangling upon frivolous and insoluble questions, and prating of the physical constitution of the world as if they had come down from a council of the Gods,--"with whom and whose conjectures nature is mightily amused"; "monks the race of new Jews" who are surprised at last to find themselves among the goats, on the left hand of the Judge, faring worse than common sailors and wagoners; kings who forgot their subjects, and think only of their own pleasures, as hunting and keeping of fine horses; popes who, though infirm old men, take the sword into their hands, and "turn law, religion, peace, and all human affairs upside down."¹

This biting criticism of the social ills of society fell on fertile ground particularly among the more educated classes. In the second decade of the 16th century all German universities transformed from the scholastic to the humanistic teachings.

Humanism in Germany had the effect of conquering the medieval formalistic ontology of the church and developed a free and individualistic personality. It constituted a declaration of maturity for the emerging individualistic classes. Faith by the authority of the Church, at least in Germany, became discarded and replaced by faith through individual inquiry. It is this possibility and this drive for individualistic-religious inquiry which stands as one factor at the cradle of all reform movements.

Moreover. . . some humanists brought into focus . . . the notion that only by restoring an earlier condition of simplicity and harmony could men overcome the growing complexity and corruption

¹Georg Park Fisher, The Reformation (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906), p. 67.

of human affairs. This might mean recovery of the sinless state of man in Paradise, or of the early Christian community without priest, law, or property, or even the ideal commonwealth of contemplative serenity and repose of the ancient philosophers.¹

The regeneration of society and culture in terms of the ancient springs of greatness fostered many socio-religious movements. Various heretical groups in the course of the Middle Ages had urged a restoration of the Church on the springs of Christianity as represented in the Church Fathers and the Gospels. The notion of "rebirth" and "reform" as the idea of "return" to the classical forms of the gospel truth was formulated and proposed by many humanists who saw in the "return" the realization of the promise and the prophetic quality which the ancient world possessed.

SUMMARY AND EVALUATION

Our data indicate that the two main social structures which we have analysed were of a Gemeinschaft type. They were Gemeinschaft structures by blood, place, mind, kinship, friendship or occupation. The unity of these structures rested on concensus, and the binding sentiment for all members was the understanding of the moral obligations and constraints which derived from being a participant in an all-embracing social environment. The basic relations from man to man were those of cooperation within a collectivity of others.

William Morris and Ernest Belfort Bax wrote about medieval society:

The tendency to association within that society is one of the most marked features. In fact, nothing could be done in those

¹Bossenbrook, op. cit., p. 95.

days without association. Life seemed impossible to the medieval mind without common action.¹

This cooperative-collective spirit permeated all social institutions. It was consistently applied to all aspects of life and as such formed part of the religious life.

As Morris and Bax noted:

All the great corporations, which were such a prominent feature of the Middle Ages, from the fraternity of knighthood to the guilds of craft, were on the one hand religious institutions, though on the other they were devised for obvious practical purposes.²

There was little or no distinction between the religious and the secular ways of life. The one conformed and was in harmony with the other. First slowly and then in a more rapid fashion, this original harmony became unbalanced. Newly emergent economic and political structures either transformed the old structures or developed in contrast to them. Capitalistic forms of enterprise transformed the guilds and the new political structures of the local sovereigns in combination with feudalism initiated the decaying process of the "Markgenossenschaft." Two principle classes developed in society as a result of this trend. There were those economic and political groups for which this change was extremely favorable and those for which these changes constituted extreme disadvantages and carried the threat of extinction. The capitalisticly transformed class of Guildmasters stood in economic contrast to the classes of perpetual journeymen. They furthermore stood in contrast politically to the rest of the

¹William Morris and Ernest Belfort Bax, Socialism, Its Growth and Outcome (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Company, 1913), p. 56.

²Ibid., pp. 55-56.

population which was dominated by the political power which the guilds exercised.

The economic and political powers of the German "Markgenossenschaft" were acquired by the class of large landholders and sovereigns. The Church was drawn into this development; actively participating as a structure which aspired to the new economic and political powers which were within its reach. These new Gesellschaft-types of human relations were of an individualistic-capitalistic nature. Because of the political and economic powers which were acquired in the process, the new capitalistic and political classes began to dominate everyday life. Forms of social interaction like the structure of law and customs were actively forced into changes which favored and demonstrated the new relations that had emerged. At this point the situation of social unrest reached a peak. Discontent and tensions and disorders were widespread. Local rebellions occurred and attempts to reform society were made. The philosophy of the Church had reached a deadlock with scholasticism. While the lower classes demanded a return to the old harmony and unity of life, the humanists disenchanted with scholasticism explored the social and political ills searching for a solution in many different directions.

CHAPTER IV

DATA AND ANALYSIS OF THE REFORMATION IN THE CITY OF ZUERICH

THE AIM AND THE THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THIS CHAPTER

We have demonstrated so far, that the time prior to the Reformation was marked by a state of social unrest. In the present chapter we will follow the emergence and the development of two social movements. We will try to evaluate these developments in terms of those social forces with which we have acquainted ourselves in chapter three. We have made a distinction between cooperative-collective Gemeinschaft-types of relations and we have witnessed the emergence of capitalistic - individualistic Gesellschaft-types of relations. Furthermore we have seen how social structures which incorporated these respective relations became opposed to each other.

The place we have chosen for our observation is the city state of Zuerich. The Reformation in this city gave rise to the Anabaptist-Hutterite movement and to the Zwinglian Church. We will attempt to analyze the process by which these two social movements emerged, and opposed each other.

To define a social movement in its broadest sense, Rudolf Heberle had this to say:

. . .We can retain the idea that a genuine social movement is an attempt of certain groups to bring about fundamental changes in the social order, especially in the basic institutions of property and labor relationship.¹

¹Rudolf Heberle, "Observations on the Sociology of Social Movements," American Sociological Review (1949), p. 349.

Herbert Blumer concerned himself with the nature of changes which social movements might pursue. He distinguished between two types:

Mention has been made of the fact that specific social movements are primarily of two sorts: reform and revolutionary movements. Both seek to change social order and existing institutions . . .

. . .The two movements differ in the scope of their objectives. A reform movement seeks to change some specific phase or limited areas of the existing social order. . . .A revolutionary movement has a broader aim; it seeks to reconstruct the entire social order.

This difference in objective is linked with a different vantage point of attack. In endeavouring to change just a portion of the prevailing social order, the reform movement accepts the basic tenets of that social order. More precisely, the reform movement accepts the existing mores, indeed, it uses them to criticize the social defects which it is attacking. The reform movement starts with the prevailing code of ethics, and derives much of its support because it is so well grounded on the ethical side. This makes its position rather unassailable. . . .

. . .By contrast, a revolutionary movement always challenges the existing mores and proposes a new scheme of moral values. Hence, it lays itself open to vigorous attack from the standpoint of existing mores.¹

Werner Sombart, the great counterpart of Max Weber, recognized that a revolutionary movement can go in either of two different directions--backward, or forward.² Going backwards would mean to return to a social order that preceded the present order. Going forward refers to a revolutionary movement that builds social relations on an entirely new basis.

Our observation will begin with the existing order in the city state of Zuerich and we will try to analyze the emergent social movements which we have mentioned in relation to the existing order. Since the

¹Herbert Blumer, 'Collective Behavior,' in A. M. Lee ed. Principles of Sociology, op. cit p. 212

²Werner Sombart, Socialism and the Social Movement, Translated by M. Epstein, (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1909), p. 21.

guilds dominated the social order we will evaluate the social movement which was based on this order - the Zwinglian Church - as a reform movement, designed to reform only one institution - the religious.

The Anabaptist-Hutterite social movement, on the other hand, because of its opposition to the social order of the guilds can be regarded as a revolutionary movement. In tracing the development of this movement we will apply Sombart's theory and see in this movement a revolutionary movement going backwards to the return of a social order that preceded the present one.

We imply here, that the social order of the guilds had lost its *Gemeinschaft* type of social relations and moved into the direction of a *Gesellschaft*-type of relations. We will try to demonstrate the validity of this assumption through data showing the particular nature of the administrative and economic policies of the guilds.

According to our theoretical scheme the events in the city state of Zuerich fall into the stages of popular excitement and formalization. These stages are marked by the role of the agitator, by a sharpening of the objectives within a social movement, the emergence of an *esprit de corps*, the development of group morale and a group ideology and finally by the establishment of operating tactics. Agitation acts to loosen previous attachments and to break down previous ways of thinking and acting. It functions so as to intensify, release, and direct the tensions which people already have.

Esprit de corps in a social movement chiefly develops in three ways: the development of an in-group-out-group relationship, the formation of informal fellowship associations, and the participation in formal ceremonial behavior.

Morale can be thought of as giving persistency and determination to a movement; its test is whether solidarity can be maintained in the face of adversity. It contains a conviction of the rectitude of the purpose of the movement and it associates these beliefs with the faith in the ultimate attainment of the goals of the movement. Since the movement is felt to be a necessary agent for the regeneration of the world, it is regarded as being in line with the higher moral values of the universe and in this sense as divinely favored.

The ideology of a social movement consists of a body of doctrine, beliefs and myths. More specifically, it seems to consist of the following: first, a statement of the objective, purpose, and premises of the movement; second, a body of criticism and condemnation of the existing structure which the movement is attacking and seeking to change; third, a body of defence doctrine which serves as a justification of the movement and of its objectives; fourth, a body of belief dealing with policies, tactics, and practical operation of the movement; and fifth, the myths of the movement.

This ideology is almost certain to be of a twofold character. In the first place, it is erudite, scholarly and of a highly logical character. It is developed by the intellectuals of the movement and grows up in response to the criticism of outside intellectuals. It seeks to gain for its tenets a respectable and defensible position in this world of higher learning and higher intellectual values.

The popular character of the ideology seeks to appeal to the uneducated and the masses. In this form it takes the character of emotional symbols, shibboleth, stereotypes, smooth and graphic phrases and folk arguments. It deals also with the tenets of the movement,

but presents them in a form that makes them ready for easy comprehension and consumption. An ideology gives a set of values, a set of convictions, a set of criticisms, a set of arguments and a set of defences. As such it furnishes to a movement (a) direction, (b) justification, (c) weapons of attack, (d) weapons of defence, and (e) inspiration and hope.

The role of tactics in a social movement depends very much on the general cultural conditions under which a movement has to operate. Operating tactics evolve along three lines: gaining adherents, holding adherents, and reaching goals. Little more can be said about tactics, unless one deals with specific kinds of movements in concrete cultural situations.

We can conclude this discussion of the five mechanisms by reiterating that the successful development of a movement is dependent on them. It is these mechanisms which establish a program, set policies, develop and maintain discipline, and evoke allegiance.¹

We will keep in mind, that we want to apply this theoretical scheme to the development of the Anabaptist-Hutterite movement as well as to the Zwinglian Church in the city state of Zuerich. Since these two movements reacted on each other in a concrete political setting, we do not expect them to form a parallel development. Due to the manipulation of political powers, we might expect that the development of one movement might have been accelerated while the other might have been retarded. In fact it is the interaction of these two movements which supplies us with data, that demonstrate the split between Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft types of social relations.

¹Blumer, op. cit. abbreviated pp. 202-211

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN THE CITY STATE OF ZUERICH

The general social development in Switzerland differed in some important respects from the rest of the German countries. The relatively isolated geographical location of the Swiss countries supported a tendency toward independence. The general decline of the "Markgenossenschaft" took a somewhat different form in Switzerland. Feudalism which had gained power in the social structure of Switzerland as in the rest of Europe was prevented from completely capturing political authority. Instead, the old "Markgenossenschaft" expanded to the political system of the canton. This expansion did not take place without allocating an adequate representation to the established nobility. In general, however, there remained a democratic political structure which contained much of the social characteristics of the old "Markgenossenschaft".¹ Three of these cantons entered into the Swiss Federation in 1291. In 1513, the Federation had thirteen members. Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden committed themselves to military aid in case one of them was attacked from the outside. They set up a board of arbitration which was to decide on differences between the members of the Federation. The internal social structure of the cantons including the feudal rights of the nobility remained unaffected by the Federation.

Zuerich became a full member of the Swiss Federation in 1351. While the original three members of the Federation consisted of rural

¹Wilhelm Oechsli, History of Switzerland, (Cambridge at the University Press, 1922), Translated from the German by Eden and Cedar Paul, p. 1.

areas, Zuerich was already a rapidly developing urban centre. Between 1358 and 1434, Zuerich bought no less than twenty-nine villages, bailiwicks, prefectures, or towns. In the war of 1439, Zuerich tried to extend its influence over the Toggenburg inheritance and clashed with four federated members who succeeded in defeating the city three times. In 1450, the war came to an end when both sides accepted a judgment by the city of Bern. Zuerich had lost some of its acquired possessions but remained a strong political entity.

The internal social development of Zuerich for the next few decades following 1450 was characterized by a power struggle between the patricians and the aggressive guilds. In 1483, the guildmaster Waldmann succeeded over the nobleman Goeldli in the election for mayor. As a representative of the guilds, Waldmann, in a series of political manipulations reduced the influence of the patricians. Up to this point the nobility had maintained a great influence on the city administration. Waldmann reduced the number of patricians in the small city council to six and increased the number of guild members to eighteen. Once in possession of the political power, Waldmann used this power to advance the political and economic interest of the guilds. He established a monopoly for the city regarding commerce and trade. The country was confined to agricultural activities only. All craftsmen in the country were required to move to the city and acquire the citizenship of Zuerich. The peasants were not allowed to buy their goods in places other than the city of Zuerich nor were they allowed to market their own products elsewhere. The priesthood was burdened by a sales-tax on wine. The trade in salt was monopolized by the city and the taxes in the country were increased. The city council of Zuerich exercised all feudal rights over

the country which it had acquired from the previous owners. In order to make the administration of these possessions easier, Waldmann simplified the civil and criminal code and subjected the various economic branches like agriculture, wine growing and the forest industry to standardized rules and regulations.

The reckless introduction of these rules and regulations caused hostility and hatred among the peasants. When a new regulation was issued according to which all dogs had to be taxed, the restraining walls broke and the peasants assembled and marched against the city. The nobility, sensing its own advantage, sided with the peasants. Waldmann was dragged out of a council meeting by the rebelling peasants, tortured and beheaded.

With Waldmann out of the way, the class of noblemen and patricians obtained the upper hand. The local legal code was reintroduced, the monopoly of the city craftsmen was rescinded and the country communities achieved the right to be represented before the city council in matters of vital interest for them.

Insofar as these changes furthered the interests of the patricians and nobility and decreased the influence of the guilds, the new lords went along with them. However, when there was a clash with their own economic and political interest, the peasants were not allowed to go any further. There was no reduction in the various tithes or any reduction in the taxes which the church collected.

The cooperation between the peasants and the nobility took place because both were united for a short time against the dominant political power of the guilds. The peasants tried to maintain mainly their traditional way of life, while patricians and the nobility used this revolt to further their own influence in the administration of the city and to

maintain their special privileges in the form of rents, tithes, jurisdictional rights and taxes. In addition, they tried to protect the rents which they received from various European powers, particularly France and the Pope, for selling Swiss mercenaries for every war in Europe.

The continuation of Waldmann's reform was achieved by Zwingli. Huldrych Zwingli was born in 1484. He was ordained as a priest at the age of 23, and served in small congregations in the Swiss countryside. Between 1512 and 1515 he took part in several military ventures in Italy. The Swiss mercenary system and the senseless sacrifice of the Swiss youth for money seemed to have made a deep impression on the young military chaplain.

In 1515 Zwingli became personally acquainted with Erasmus von Rotterdam whose writings had made a great impression on him. The two maintained a sporadic correspondence for a number of years.¹ In 1519 Zwingli was appointed to the "Grossmuenster" in Zuerich as a "Leutpriester." He conducted his first sermon on new year's day, 1519, by discarding the church routine which regulated the traditional sermons for the whole year. Some of these regulations dated back to the 12th Century. In continuous sermons Zwingli preached and interpreted the gospel of Matthew, the Acts of the Apostles, and the first Epistle of Paul to Timothy.

Zwingli, besides being a priest was also a great Swiss patriot.² Zuerich mercenaries carried on the war for Rome in 1521 and were recalled

¹The Mennonite Encyclopedia, (The Mennonite Publishing House Scottsdale Pa. 1955) Vol. IV, p. 1052

²Ibid., p. 1052

without being given their half-pay. Mercenaries from other cantons fought the French war against Milani and lost the battle of Biococca in 1522. With his great intellectual power and his enormous power of persuasion Zwingli turned against the merchandising of Swiss blood on the battlefields of Europe. He concentrated on the sources of this system by attacking the nobility and the patricians who pocketed large sums of money each year paid to them as pensions and bribes by France, the Italian States and the Pope.

The disenchantment between Zuerich and the Pope in 1522 was used by Zwingli to begin the first attacks on the institutions of the Catholic church. He began to criticize the abuses of the images in the church, preached against the rules of fasting, the Catholic mass, and other church traditions.

About a year later, on January 29th, 1523, Zwingli presented his sixty-seven theses for discussion. This event not only designated the beginning of the Zwinglian Reformation, but also revealed its particular social characteristics.

During medieval times, the church always maintained its supremacy over the state. Pope Bonifatius VIII in 1302 established his authority over all mortal beings in spiritual and secular matters. He placed himself over all human institutions as the supreme legislator and the supreme judge. The Pope possessed both swords, the Sacerdotum and the Imperium but himself handled only the more dignified, the Sacerdotum. The secular sword was given to the worldly authorities who handled it in the name of the pope's authority.

On January 3rd, 1523, the city council of Zuerich sent a letter to all priests in the city-state including a copy to the bishop of

Konstanz, ordering all priests to come to the city hall on January 29th. The priests were asked in this letter to present in the German language to the city council the "true and right way to preach the word of God." Following this planned presentation of the priests, the city council intended to decide which version of Christianity should be taught. The attending priests then were expected to go back to their congregations and comply with the decision of the city council. This letter ended with the threat that if the decision of the council was not complied with, the council intended to initiate procedures against persons as it saw fit.

On January 29th, 1523, the mayor Markus Roeust welcomed the more than 600 delegates and declared that he and the rest of the city council were tired of the ongoing theological controversy. He asked the representatives to speak up and state their case.

Zwingli was the first to speak. As soon as he began, he was challenged by Dr. Faber, the delegate of the Bishop. Faber addressed Zwingli as his "good friend" and tried to convince him that a discussion of this sort could not take place before the city council, but belonged rightfully to one of the great universities. Zwingli, well-prepared for this challenge of competence, declared that the assembly being composed of Christians, might well decide for itself what the Christian truth was.

At this time, the Zwinglian Reformation was already over and won. The discussion dragged along until the noon hours. When the assembly reconvened in the afternoon, the city council issued a regulation ordering all priests to preach the word of God the way Zwingli had done. In the

case of refusal, the priests were threatened with harsh punishment,¹

A discussion of the sixty-seven theses proclaimed by Zwingli lies outside the scope of this paper. The important social characteristics of the Zwinglian Reformation are formulated in articles 34 to 43. He declared that the pope could not validate his power over human institutions with reference to the teachings of Christ. The secular powers in contrast were based on the teachings of Christ and had therefore a solid foundation. All the prerogatives of the priesthood in jurisdictional and legal forms rightly belonged in the hands of the secular authority. All Christians owed allegiance to the secular powers, unless these powers acted against the will of God. In such a case the worldly powers could be disposed of with the help of God.

The last of these sixty-seven theses dealt with a subject matter that was very dear to a great many people in the city state of Zuerich. Zwingli said: "If somebody wishes to talk with me about rents, tithes, or about the unbaptized children and confirmation, I am willing to give answers to these questions."²

During the next two years Zuerich witnessed the practical transformation of its religious institution. A second public disputation in the fall of 1523 was concerned with the church images and the conduct of the mass. Zwingli again emerged as the victor. On July 15th, 1524, all images in the churches of Zuerich were withdrawn under the supervision of

¹Oechsli, op. cit., p. 80.

²Franz Lau, Der Glaube der Reformatoren, (Carl Schünemann Verlag Bremen, 1964) pp.262-268.

the local priest and one member from each of the guilds. The Catholic mass was replaced by an evangelical service on April 12th, 1525. Almost half a year earlier the city council of Zuerich had confiscated all church property and had put it under the administration of the city. Healthy monks were supposed to learn a craft unless they preferred to leave the city; old and disabled monks were cared for by the city. New legislation regarding a city welfare policy was issued in January of 1525, marriage regulations were issued in May and a new school ordinance and the establishment of a new school were announced in June of 1525.¹

Within three years, the religious institutions in this city were drastically reformed in allegiance, ritual and social functions regarding welfare, marriage and schooling. All of these functions of the religious institutions came under the control and supervision of the city council whose power increased enormously. The Zuerich Reformation established the undisputed supremacy of the city council over all aspects regarding the life of its citizens.

The whole Reformation was conducted by order of the city council in a most bureaucratic way. The several stages of this Reformation, abolition of the images, abolition of the mass and the confiscation of church property were psychologically spaced in such a way that the whole movement could not get out of the hands of the city council. The dangers which the city council sensed were twofold: first, the opposing nobility could try to reverse the whole procedure possibly with help from the outside; secondly, the peasants fired up by reformatory enthusiasm

¹Oechsli, op. cit., pp. 85-87

could take over the leadership of the Reformation and sweep away the city council.

These dangers were not just imaginary, but part of the social reality of the time. They are reflected in a number of events associated with the above outlined reformatory sequence.

The city constitution in Zuerich was based on the "sworn letter"¹ of 1489 which divided the city government into the "large" and the "small" council.² The large council consisted of one hundred forty-four members of the guilds. Each of the twelve guilds in Zuerich appointed twelve members to the city council. Unlike the urban cantons, the city council was not elected. In addition, the so-called "Konstaffel" (representatives of the nobility and patricians) appointed another eighteen members to the large council. The large council functioned mainly in setting the foreign policy of the city, in collecting and allocating taxes, in buying additional territories and granting citizenship to strangers. The small council consisted of forty-eight members, twenty-four of whom were guildmasters and the other twenty-four were elected partly by the guilds and partly by the Konstaffel. The small council acted as the administrative organ, implementing the decisions of the large council. It had independent authority over legal and religious matters. Every member of the small council had the right to refer matters on which no agreement could be reached to the large council.

The city government was headed by two mayors each of whom governed about half a year. In a similar fashion the small council was divided

¹An earlier "sworn letter" was introduced as a constitution of the city state in 1336. See Lina Hug and Richard Stead, Switzerland, (London T. Fisher Unwin, Paternoster Square, 1890).

²Farner, op.cit., Vol. III, p. 9.

in two parts, each assisting a mayor for his term. In case of death or absence of the mayors, one of the guildmasters had to take over as mayor. In addition, three guildmasters, elected from the guilds, formed a body whose functions were censorship and complaints regarding city policy. These guildmasters, together with the two mayors, formed the secret council which, in times of emergencies, had the power to make quick decisions.

The authority of the city council regarding the surrounding country was more extensive than in the city itself. The rural areas were bought originally through the policy of the guilds which needed a dependent hinterland for their goods. The country, besides producing taxes for the city, presented a stable market owned and administered by the city council. The country was divided into administrative units for which administrators were appointed by the city council. After the Waldmann catastrophe these rural areas had acquired the right to make suggestions regarding the appointments of administrators. They could also appear before the city council as complainants regarding administrative procedures. However, the country had no representative in the city council and did not take part in the formulation of city policy.

The population of the city of Zuerich at Zwingli's time seems to be properly assessed at about 5,400. The number of craftsmen organized in the twelve guilds amounted to seven hundred ninety-three. The Konstaffel, consisting of nobility, large landowners, judges, money-changers and goldsmiths had about one hundred thirty members. The city council appointed by about one thousand people ruled over an areas which

had a peasant population of about fifty thousand. Most of the villages in the country had a population of between fifty and two hundred people.¹

Zwingli's political support came entirely from the guilds with which he had numerous personal and political contacts. As the reformatory program progressed, the resistance of the established church hierarchy in combination with the Konstaffel increased. Through administrative manipulations, Zwingli managed to force many members of the upper church hierarchy into resigning.

The established nobility and large landowners were quite active in protecting their interests. Their powers and political connections to forces outside the city were also dangerous. The prohibition of the mercenary system in Zuerich offered a convenient occasion to act against the members of the Konstaffel. A member of the city council, Junker Jacob Grebel (not to be confused with Conrad Grebel), was beheaded in 1526 for having accepted rents for mercenary services. The acceptance of these monies dated back to 1521. In 1529, the influence of the Konstaffel in the city council was reduced to that of one single guild.^{2 3}

A much more dangerous situation than those created by the church or the Konstaffel was caused by the Anabaptist movement, which emerged in 1523. A number of persons, among them friends and colleagues of Zwingli expressed doubts about the justification for placing matters of religious concern in the hands of worldly authorities. Felix Mantz and Conrad Grebel, who, together with Zwingli had studied Greek and

¹Farner, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 9-16.

²The Mennonite Encyclopedia, p. 1053

³Farner, op. cit., Vol. IV, pp. 83-102.

Hebrew in 1522 expressed their doubts regarding the course which the Reformation in Zuerich was about to take. They claimed that nowhere in the New Testament was there any support for assuming that worldly authorities should make decisions regarding the nature of a new and true religious body. They maintained that the apostolic example regarding the formation of the early Christian communities should serve as the model on which the new church should be built. Such a church was characterized by voluntary membership, non-violence, adult-baptism and a degree of communal ownership. With Zwingli's involvement in the political power structure of the city, it became quite clear to him that these principles were unworkable under the given situation because they would have clashed with the interests of that class he was serving so well--the guilds. The controversy between Zwingli on one side, and Conrad Grebel and Felix Mantz on the other, increased within the year of 1523. The latter formed small conventicles and discussion groups in the city and found a number of priests, like Simon Sumpf, Wilhelm Roebli and Johannes Broetli who spread their ideas in the country. Beginning in the spring of 1524, parents in the villages of Witikon and Zollikon refused to have their new-born babies baptized. The whole controversy between Zwingli and the Anabaptists focussed on the question of whether children or adults should be baptized. Zwingli himself at one time had maintained that child baptism was wrong. The focussing on the question of baptism was a mere theological firework covering some more dramatic political and economic factors. Felix Mantz, at one time, declared that there was more to the question of baptism "which could not be brought into the

open . . . in the end he would remove the worldly authorities." ¹ ²

The popular excitement in the rural areas was much more spontaneous compared with the bureaucratic introduction of changes in the city. Before the images were removed in the city, the urban population had, on occasions, stormed the churches and destroyed the images. Demands for the overhaul of rents and tenths were made. A new outlook on the payment of the tenth emerged, labelling it a contribution of the individual for the welfare of the poor. Demands of this sort put the whole system of rents, taxes and tithes in question. To question the rightfulness of these contributions clashed with the economic interests of the guilds of which Zwingli was a spokesman.

The question of baptism, over which the theological struggle was fought, in effect consisted of a class struggle between the guilds and the exploited and disenfranchised peasant population. Zwingli clearly sensed the danger that the mass of the peasant population, once organized, could divert the whole reformatory movement in such a way as to serve the interests of the rural areas. He acted without delay. On January 17, 1525, a public disputation was staged with the city council acting as referee. Zwingli was the speaker for the city council and Felix Mantz, Conrad Grebel and Wilhelm Roebli acted as the proponents for adult baptism. As could be expected, Zwingli emerged as the winner and the city council threatened everyone who would maintain adult baptism with deportation. Despite this order, the first adult baptism in Zuerich took place on January 21, 1525, when Joerg Blaurock, a run-away monk was baptized by Conrad Grebel. Adult baptism spread

¹See also W. Oechsli, op. cit., p. 88.

²Farner, op. cit., Vol. IV, pp. 112-113.

quickly to the rural areas and a series of baptisms took place in Zollikon on January 22nd. The number of Anabaptists became so large that the city council had to act. From March 16th to March 25th, the first Anabaptist trials took place in Zuerich. Mantz was convicted and fined, Blaurock and all non-citizens were deported. Those who recanted had to pay a fine, the rest, twenty-one of them were imprisoned. A second public disputation regarding adult baptism took place between the 20th and 22nd of March, 1524. The result was the same as the first. The seriousness of the situation is indicated by the fact that Zwingli published, on December 28th, 1524, an article, "Those Who Give Cause for Rebellion," which was followed by a polemic treatise, "About Divine and Human Justice". The Bible was, for Zwingli, the evidence that obedience to worldly authorities and their orders was necessary, justified, and good. The legality of rents and tithes was without doubt and should be respected. Those who give cause for rebellion, according to Zwingli, were the ones who

...create hatred against the Evangelium because they use it as an excuse for not paying their rents, tithes and debts. (emphasis ours)

In the spring of 1525, the rebellious state of the peasants reached alarming proportions in all parts of the rural areas of Zuerich. On April 23rd, a few hundred rebellious peasants stormed and plundered the cloisters of Rueti and Bubikon. Local frictions occurred everywhere. A constant flow of demands and petitions flowed to the city council of Zuerich. A number of peasants at this time were still under the impression that Zwingli, who had promised to discuss the legality of rents and tithes with them, was on their side. In these petitions they demanded the abolition of serfdom, on the grounds that all Christians were equal.

The rents and tithes should be reduced or eliminated. The use of tithes where they were given for welfare services should be in line with their original purpose. The abuse of them should be abolished. The peasants demanded to have a say in the selection of the local priest, and the restoration of rights regarding fishing and hunting. On June 5th, four thousand armed peasants from the Zuerich countryside assembled in Toess and demanded the repeal of rents and tenths. With reason, wine and liquor were the peasants finally dispersed by the popular bailiff Lavater of Kyburg. The revolution in Toess ended behind the inn tables where the peasants forgot their aims with the consumption of free drinks. However, one of the leaders of this movement was beheaded shortly afterwards, as a reminder for the rest not to engage in rebellions of this sort again.

The suppression of the rebellious peasants had another effect, however. In June, 1525, peasants dressed as pilgrims invaded the city of Zuerich. They stigmatized Zwingli as the Dragon prophecied in the Revelations of John. They called on the city to repent and to ward off the terrible fate to which it was heading. Some gave the city a deadline of forty days to turn around and correct the ills.

In November of the same year, the city council of Zuerich staged the third public disputation regarding adult baptism. It ended the same way as the first two. Dr. Balthasar Hubmaier, who, two years later became the leader of the Nikolsburg Anabaptists, visited Zuerich in December and January, 1525-26. In March, 1526, a new series of trials against Anabaptists took place. To put an end to this movement the city council announced the death sentence for all Anabaptists in March

of 1526. Reluctant to use this sentence, the announcement of the act was repeated in November. On the 5th of January, 1527, the Anabaptist leader, Felix Mantz was the first person executed for reasons of religious beliefs by a Protestant power. Conrad Grebel had died of the plague during the summer of 1526. Joerg Blaurock was burned in 1529 in Innsbruck. The series of death sentences against Anabaptists had begun, finding its climax in the order issued by the Diet of Worms in 1529, which decreed that each Anabaptist could be killed without a proper trial.

However, during the two years of 1525 and 1526, Felix Mantz, Conrad Grebel and Joerg Blaurock wandered about the Swiss and south German countryside, preaching and baptizing wherever they could. A great many conventicles and small groups were formed, which, at times broke out into local Anabaptist movements.¹ The sociological character of the Zwingli Reformation had become very clear at this time. The peasants who could not realize the objectives for which they had hoped, turned to search for another solution. They found it in migration. The class that supported the Zwingli Reformation had absorbed the economic and political powers of the patricians and the Catholic Church, and continued to exercise feudal rights over the peasants as natural and legitimate prerogatives. The peasants, aroused by the enthusiasm of the Reformation saw within their reach the "justice of God" and the restoration of their old rights, only to lose in the quest for political control. Anabaptism developed not only in Zuerich under the Zwinglian Reformation but among

¹Oechslein, op. cit., p. 91.

Lutherans as well. Hans Denck in Augsburg became one of the great influences in the Lutheran branch of Anabaptism. Schaffhausen and Strassburg at one time were rallying points in the Anabaptist movement. Dr. Hubmaier captured Waldshut and rebelled against the House of Hapsburg. Thomas Muentzer and Andreas Karlstadt also branched out from the Lutheran Reformation and struggled gallantly against the secular and religious powers under which they were finally crushed. As in the Zwinglian Reformation, the seed of Anabaptism which was lodged in the nature of the pre-reformatory religious and social institutions blossomed into the struggle of the lower classes for political and economic powers. Economic and political interests channelled the struggle for religious rejuvenation and directed it into a battle for class interests.

SUMMARY AND EVALUATION

The data indicate that the guilds of the city of Zuerich transformed long before the Reformation from a co-operative-collectively oriented group to an economic and political class seeking its own interests and advantages. The securing of an economic hinterland and the use of the political powers to dominate and monopolize the trade relations with the peasant population points in this direction. The acquisition of feudal rights through the city state and the exercise of these rights as legitimate forms of exploitation, demonstrates this point even further. The bureaucratization of the various local codes still existing among the peasants in accord with the administration needs of the city, as attempted by the mayor Waldman, marked a historical point when this development went too far and too fast. When Zwingli in 1519 entered the city state of Zurich as a priest, the guilds constituted the

dominant power in the state. They tried to make inroads to reduce the traditional political and economic powers of the Konstaffel on the one hand and keep the subjugated peasant population in its place on the other hand.

As in the rest of the country a state of social unrest prevailed in Zuerich. This social unrest was partly caused by the failure of the Catholic Church to satisfy those psychological and social needs which it created through its own teachings. Partly was this social unrest created through the continuous erosion and elimination of those primary social relations which made the world meaningful to the peasant population. The traditional rights and privileges of the peasants, which were completely unwieldy, inefficient and much too complicated for any large scale administration, nevertheless constituted a world in its own right, radiating and enforcing moral obligations and constraints which had meaning for the peasants.

Zwingli assumed the role of the agitator as soon as he took his post as the Leutpriester in Zuerich. Influenced by the Humanists, he was mainly concerned with the religious ills of his time. His uncertainties regarding baptism and the question of tithes point out that he at first was quite unable to estimate the political and economic importance which these matters had for the governing class in Zuerich. He directed his point of attack against the religious institution which automatically placed him alongside the city council. The Church as a traditional political and economic power by its very nature tended toward an orientation very much in line with the Konstaffel, and in conflict with the guilds. As a result, the popular excitement which Zwingli created through

his teachings and agitation was most successful among the guilds members. Due to this support of the guilds, Zwingli was able to work through the city council and use it to implement his reform program. This meant on the other hand, that Zwingli had to adjust his ideas to the particular economic and political interests which the city council pursued.

Through his willingness to compromise Zwingli was able to obtain and to consolidate a pro-Reformation majority in the council.¹

However, the popular excitement which he had created extended to the countryside and spread among the peasants, who had expressed forms of social unrest in many spontaneous actions before. Discontent about the religious ills on the part of the peasants extended beyond the religious to the economic and political problems as well. Zwingli who had quickly adapted to the "social order" which the guilds pursued, had the difficult task of advancing his attacks against the Catholic Church through the creation and perpetuation of a popular excitement among the guild members while at the same time he had to retard this popular excitement among the peasants who began to challenge the "social order" which Zwingli supported. His operating tactics, characteristic for the psychological spacing of limited changes, (the abolition of the mass, etc.) were dictated by this necessity to attack and to defend at the same time in different directions. Conrad Grebel and Felix Mantz, the fellow humanists of Zwingli became estranged from him when it became clear, that Zwingli's reform was based entirely on the "social order" which the guilds tried to maintain. When this went so far that the city council became the supreme authority regarding religious matters, they began

¹The Mennonite Encyclopedia, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 1053.

to agitate against this kind of solution.

It was the particular nature of Zwingli's State-Church conception which provided the point of attack for the baptists.¹

Grebel and Mantz believed:

That the fellowship of committed believers is the Church . . .

and

The 'Mylords of Zuerich' were not the Church.²

Their ideas about a return to the early apostolical type of church was impossible to institute under the Church-State conception which Zwingli introduced.

In their entirety the demands of the peasants called into question the whole economic basis of the State and of the Church, and it was out of the question that any general assent could be given to them . . .³

Heinrich Fast, in "The Left Wing of the Reformation" commented on this question like this:

The community of citizens and Christians is being dissolved by the Anabaptists.⁴

The unity of State and Church served the political and economic interests of the city council and the guilds by extending and securing the large scale administrative governmental, jurisdictional and economic controls of the city council. The concept of the apostolical community which Felix Mantz and Conrad Grebel persued served the interests of the small scale rural communities.

Here the great split between the Zwinglian social movement and

¹Lau, op. cit., p. 261.

²The Mennonite Encyclopedia, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 1053.

³Oechsli, op. cit., p. 90.

⁴Heinrich Fast, Der linke Fluegel der Reformation, (Carl Schuene-mann Verlag Bremen, 1962), p. 11.

the Anabaptist-Hutterite movement occurred. The Church-State conception as a Gesellschaft-type of social relation became adopted and was introduced by the guilds, which already had established their political and economic institutions on the same basis. They reformed society, to bring the religious institution into line with previous economic and political changes.

Essentially, State and Church in Zuerich were merely two sides of one and the same popular community.¹

The apostolical community in contrast appealed most strongly to the small scale peasants and rural groups, which had retained Gemeinschaft types of social relations. The believers Church within the boundaries of a community constituted a moral entity in contrast to the contractual State-Church structure. The individual was received into the believer's Church after he made and pledged a moral commitment on which definite actions were expected. The peasants for whom the moral commitment in a group still presented the dominant way of life saw in the believer's Church the reconstruction of a meaningful form of social life. They rejected the State-Church for the same reason for which they rejected the Roman Law and the money economy. These Gesellschaft-types of social relations were meaningless and without function in the small rural communities. They represented forces of destruction for the customary social life and introduced social and psychological uncertainties and difficulties. Most of all they were the manifest forces which the peasants had learned to hate and to resent, distant impersonal powers acting according to rules and regulations which had no meaning

¹Oechsli, op. cit., p. 78.

for them at all. In the city state of Zuerich which harbored both types of ideologies Zwingli became the Reformer who on the basis of the Gesellschaft-types of relations reformed the church and brought it into line with the other social institutions. He formalized and institutionalized these changes step by step.

Conrad Grebel and Felix Mantz who opposed this solution first on religious grounds found their supporters among the excited peasants. They in turn became influenced by the social demands of the peasants who aspired to return to a meaningful Gemeinschaft-type of society. Since this required abolishing of the social order on which the Government of Zuerich rested, this movement assumed a revolutionary character.

As it turned out, these two social movements proved to be exclusive of each other at that time. The guilds were unable to tolerate a sectarian Gemeinschaft-type of community in the state simply because the independence and autonomy of such a group would have been a threat to their political and economic interest. As a result, the two social movements became pitched against each other and the lower class movement lost against the Zwinglian Church in the struggle for power. The Anabaptist-Hutterite social movement in Zuerich never went beyond the stage of popular excitement. With the agitators banned from the territory or executed the movement lost its momentum and died. What remained were a few wandering agitators and some small groups that migrated to Moravia.

We have seen how the initial agitation of Zwingli caused a popular excitement in the city state of Zuerich. In the course of this popular excitement a "sorting out" process occurred. While the guilds as a social class defined their objectives in the reform of the religious institution,

the same excitement caused the peasants to demand a restoration of a Gemeinschaft-type of social order. As a result of this process a reform and a revolutionary movement emerged. Operating in the same social environment these movements became exclusive of each other and the reform movement being in command of the political powers suppressed the revolutionary movement.

CHAPTER V

DATA AND ANALYSIS OF THE REFORMATION IN THE TYROL

THE AIM AND THE THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THIS CHAPTER

In the present chapter we will try to evaluate events which occurred between 1527 and 1535 in the Tyrol. The switch from observing the emergence of social movements in Zuerich to the analysis of events which occurred in the Tyrol is in no way arbitrary. It has been shown that the Anabaptist-Hutterite movement in Zuerich hardly had time to formalize before it was crushed under the political powers of the Zwinglian reform movement which by 1527 was well on its way to institutionalization. The remnants of the Anabaptist-Hutterite social movement were a number of itinerant agitators in the countryside and migrants who found refuge in Moravia. Those Zuerich and South German agitators who came to the Tyrol, found a particularly fertile ground for their ideas. The country had just emerged from a popular uprising in which the peasants and miners were defeated by the territorial prince. Defeated also was the attempted restoration of a social order which these people considered more just and meaningful.

After the military attempt to restore the old social relations had failed, people proved to be susceptible toward ideas offering a religious solution to the same problem. One consequence was the re-emergence of the Anabaptist-Hutterite social movement in the Tyrol. The few agitators, who were influenced by the original movement in Zuerich, initiated a popular excitement among the peasants and miners of the Tyrol and attempted to organize religious groups.

We are particularly interested in this chapter in seeing to what extent the demands and ideas of those Tyroleans who staged the military

uprising coincide with the ideas which were incorporated by the Anabaptist-Hutterite movement. In this evaluation the Gemeinschafts-Gesellschaft typology of social relations will be used as previously defined. The implication is that there existed little difference between the peasants and miners who made military attempts to restore the old order and those who attempted the same thing by searching for a social order based mainly on religious concepts. In both cases, the objectives of the respective movements seem to have been defined in the same way. If it can be demonstrated that the objectives of the Anabaptist-Hutterite social movement in the Tyrol were in essence the same as those of other social movements operating with different tactics, we have reinforced our observations that these movements tried to restore an older social order.

Methodologically we are still concerned with a state of popular excitement regarding the Anabaptist-Hutterite movement. A few steps toward the formation of in-group-out-group relations and the build-up of morale and esprit de corps were made. The interest is on the nature of these characteristics in terms of our Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft typology. Finally emphasis will be placed on the mechanism which the emergent movement employed to overcome persecution and to escape the same fate as the Zuerich movement.

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN THE TYROL

Tyrol, a province of Austria, named after the Counts of Tyrol, came into the possession of the House of Hapsburg in 1360. The mountainous location of the country, combined with the scarcity of good land, had an

adverse influence on the rise and expansion of feudalism. Serfdom played a relatively small role in the Tyrol; and where it existed, was exercised in a much milder form than in the rest of Germany. A large number of peasants succeeded in maintaining their status as freemen and these freemen had a voice in the municipal councils.¹ The dependent peasants were in a relatively secure position insofar as they had acquired the right of inheritance for the leased land. The taxes and burdens owed to the landlords were modest and based on the traditional precedents. The arbitration of the nobility regarding peasant rights was less severe because the peasants had not only maintained many judicial functions but also had, where necessary, defended themselves against their lords.² The Inn Valley with the cities of Innsbruck, Hall, Schwaz, Rattenberg and Kufstein was rich in ore and composed one great mining centre. Its miners constituted an active social element at the beginning of the 16th century.

The organization of the mining centres resembled in some ways the organization of the guilds, while in other respects there were certain similarities to the organization of the Markgenossenschaft. The mining cities formed Gemeinwesen (communities) with a strong cooperative emphasis. The city constitutions gave voting rights to the miners who were organized in hierarchical professional organizations similar to the guilds. The mines were operated under the supervision of a Bergrichter (mining judge)

¹Gierke, p. 538.

²Hago Holborn, op cit p. 54

who had jurisdiction over the administration, the peace, and the legal aspects of the mines. The individual miners acted as jurors in legal cases and had a right to be heard in questions of taxes, the appointment of administrators and other areas of policy making.

Originally there was no division between capital and labor. The owners of mines worked as masters with their miners and servants on a cooperative basis, and the exploitation of labor by the owner was unknown. Often the so-called "owner" was elected by the organization of miners.

However, with the rise of territorial sovereigns, the ownership of the mines was acquired by these feudal princes, or the large merchant houses, and the elected representatives of the miners were replaced by appointed administrators. The self-administration of the mines, the autonomy of the organized miners, and the administration of justice through elected judges disappeared, to be replaced by a system of private ownership implementing a capitalistic system of operation.

General social dissatisfaction in the Tyrol was widespread despite the relatively favorable situation compared with other parts of Germany. In 1520, eight hundred peasants marched toward the city of Brixen, overwhelmed the city, and plundered the houses of the priesthood. The miners in Schwaz demanded forty thousand florins in unpaid wages. New taxes also increased the discontent of the population with the existing conditions. Administrators, hated by the peasant and the miners, were ambushed and put to death. In 1525, miners and peasants drafted a petition containing nineteen points which was delivered to the Archduke Ferdinand. The preamble stated:

Since up to this time the word of God was darkened by human

teachings, such that we all came in great danger in not reaching salvation, it so happens that the word of God now is coming to light loud and clear and unmixed with human frailties. But those who want to follow the word of God are persecuted and are made subject to the agitation of the selfish priests who with their godless mind try to mislead the simple minded people such that they do not know what to believe, and consequently get involved in conspirative and rebellious activities. We therefore beg you to allow us to hire for our churches educated and God fearing men--so that God will turn his anger away from us and give all of us an equal mind. We hope your Highness will save us from all false human teachings.¹

In the nineteen points that followed the Tyroleans requested the release of all who were imprisoned for religious reasons and the return of those who had to flee the country. They requested the right to select their own priest and called for the appointment of honest, understanding administrators from their own ranks. They asked for the freedom to discuss matters of disagreement freely. Everyone was to have the right to hunt for big game. Wild fowl, and the rivers and lakes were to be free also. The peasants and miners complained against the constant travel of soldiers through the country, against the high tithes, road taxes and customs. They demanded that the Lords should not ride over their fields while hunting, they complained about the high fees for seals or writs, about the injustice of the judges, the illegitimate collection of tithes, and the monopoly of the rich merchant companies which caused the high cost of living.²

¹W. Zimmermann, Geschichte des grossen Bauernkrieges, (Stuttgart Rieger'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung (A. Benedict, 1856), Vol. II, pp. 257-259.

²Ibid., p. 259

In the spring of 1525 the whole Tyrolean countryside was in a state of extreme agitation. Archduke Ferdinand twice prevented, through personal intervention, a rebellion of the Schwaz miners who demanded self-administration and independence from the House of Fugger.¹

On the 9th of May, 1525, a peasant who had a legal fight with the administration of the bishop of Brixen was to be executed because he had tried to obtain his right by declaring private warfare. The peasants of the Brixen countryside assembled and prevented the execution. The next day the city of Brixen was stormed and the estates of the nobility, the church and the upper classes plundered. Within days the rebellion spread to all valleys and cities in the Tyrol. Castles, cloisters, and the houses of the priests were destroyed. On May 9th, a number of communities in the Inn Valley assembled and drafted a resolution in which they refused to pay tithes.² The warehouses of the Fuggers were plundered in the city of Hall, as were the houses of the Jews in Bozen. The bishops of Trient and Brixen and a number of administrators had to flee the country.³ The leader of the

¹A. Hollaender, "Ein Bergknappenaufstand in Schwaz 1525," (Tyroler Heimatblatt, 1935), pp. 29-33.

²See also Guenther Franz, Quellen zur Geschichte des Bauernkrieges (R. Oldenbourg, Muenchen 1963).

a.) Beschwerden der Buerger und Bauern von Gastein (Complaints of of the peasants and citizens of Gastein), p. 290.

b.) Die 24 Artikel gemeiner Landschaft Salzburg (The 24 articles of the common people of Salzburg), p. 295.

³Guenther Franz, Der deutsche Bauernkrieg, (Herman Gentner Verlag, Darmstadt, 1956), p. 156.

uprising was Michael Gaissmaier, a clerk of the Bishop of Brixen. He came from a family of peasants and miners in Sterzing. His brother was executed in 1526 because of Anabaptist beliefs. Gaissmaier drafted a Tyrolean constitution which was published in 1526 after the rebellion of the peasants was subdued.

This constitution attempted to establish a theocracy--a Christian state based on the word of God. The first step to reform the country consisted of the formation of a Christian university where the justice of God was to be preached in all purity. Three of the university teachers were to sit in the government and were empowered to make decisions according to the order and word of God.

The immediate concern of Gaissmaier went to the poor. The tenth was to be converted to the welfare of the classes without income. The cloisters and the castles of the Catholic orders were to be used as hospitals; a supervisor was to travel throughout the country and enforce these regulations. Christianity, for Gaissmaier, was the realization of equality. To achieve this equality in the country, all classes who suppressed the common man were to be abolished; the castles which were not used as hospitals to be dismantled; the walls around the cities torn down; all cities had to be converted to villages again; mercantalism, the source of famine and scarcity, was to be forbidden; all craftsmen were to be settled in one part of the country and their products were to be sold under government supervision for a cost plus labor price; import was to be placed in the hands of the government, which was to order the necessary goods and sell them for a cost price; swamps and wastelands were to be cultivated; and finally the

mines were to be nationalized and the profit used to run the government.¹

Gaissmaier's theocracy was a republican state. The government was to be elected through a direct vote in which all parts of the country and the mines were to take part. The administration of the municipal districts was placed in the hands of the judges who, together with eight jurors were elected annually by their districts. Like all other civil servants they were to be paid by the state and were forbidden to collect fees. Court sessions were to take place every Monday and no case was to remain on the docket for more than two weeks. All legal quibbling was to be abolished, the Roman Law replaced by the established common law, and all Roman Law books burned. Satisfaction for peasants and miners regarding their various complaints were a matter of course for Gaissmaier. No mention was made of the old government, the Archduke and the bishops. Their disappearance was taken for granted. All-in-all, the constitution of Gaissmaier reflected an attempt to establish a Christian-democratic peasant-republic based on equality of all citizens. The socialism of this republic reflected the old ideas of the Markgenossenschaft, in which the freedom of the individual existed only as part of the freedom of the Gemeinschaft.

Gaissmaier fought openly for the realization of his program for the next two years. He finally had to flee the country and was murdered in Padua. The murderers were paid by the church and the Archduke Ferdinand.

¹Guenther Franz, Quellen zur Geschichte des Bauernkrieges, op cit., pp. 285-290, Michael Gaissmaiers Landesordnung. (The constitution of Michael Gaissmaier).

See also "Beschwerden der Bauernschaft an der Etsch." (Complaints of the peasantry at the River Etsch) p. 270 and "Die Meraner Artikel." (The Meran articles), p. 272.

As long as the peasants had the upper hand, the Archduke made a number of concessions. With the suppression of the peasant uprisings in 1527, many concessions were not put into practice and those which had taken effect were rescinded in 1532. Thus the attempts to establish the divine justice of God and to re-introduce the old social order had failed politically.

The first reliable information regarding Anabaptist mission work in the Tyrol dates from November, 1527. The missionaries, Leonhard Schiemer and Hans Schlaffer had entered the Inn Valley from Bavaria. Schiemer was caught at Rattenberg and suffered the first recorded death as a martyr in Tyrol in January, 1528. Schlaffer was caught in the mining town of Schwaz, where it was said that of twelve hundred inhabitants, eight hundred were Anabaptists. He was put to death in February, 1528.¹ In May, 1529, Joerg Blaurock, the Anabaptist leader from Zuerich, was working ceaselessly in the Tyrolean Valleys. He was executed in September, 1529.

Although the geographical characteristics of the Tyrol - many valleys separated by high snow-covered mountains - were such that intervalley communications should have been difficult, the Anabaptist-Hutterite movement did not seem to be hindered by the geography; on the contrary, the movement was uniform throughout the whole region. The mining town of Rattenberg had the highest number of martyrs: seventy-one by 1542 (population twelve hundred). Kitzbuehel had sixty-eight and Schwaz, another mining town, had twenty. Kirchmaier, in his contemporary Chronicle of the

¹The Mennonite Encyclopedia, Vol. IV, p. 725.

Bishopric of Brixen (Tyrol) reported that a thousand "heretics" were executed in Tyrol prior to 1530, and that fagots were burning continually all along the Inn Valley. There is some evidence, however, that this number was an exaggeration. The records of 1539 account for about 600 executions.¹

Jacob Hutter was a native of the hamlet of Moos near Bruneck in the Pustertal. Scantily educated by the school in Bruneck he went to Prague to learn hatmaking. Then he began his extensive journeys for the sake of his trade and finally settled at Spittal a. d. Draux in Carinthia. In Klagenfurt he probably made his first contact with the teachings of Anabaptists.² He went to work in his native Pustertal, which soon had its martyrs. In 1529, twenty-four Anabaptists were executed from Michelsberg, two from Sillian, one from Taufers, four from Rodeneck and four from Schoeneck, but this list is incomplete.³ Anabaptists were brought to trial from Lienz and St. Lorenzen and other places.

The persecution of Anabaptists in Tyrol grew gradually more intense. The government, in a letter to Archduke Ferdinand pointed out that for two years between 1527 and 1529 hardly a day had passed in which Anabaptists matters had not come up in the council; more than seven hundred persons had either been executed, expelled, or fled the country, leaving behind their property and their children. Those who were executed had no horror

¹
Ibid., p. 725.

²Ibid., Vol. II, p. 851

³Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 235

of punishment, but even reported themselves to the authorities; rarely was one converted; nearly all wished to die for their faith.¹ Dr. Gallus Mueller, a Catholic court chaplain in Innsbruck, worked with a number of Anabaptists. In 1539 he aided in drawing up a mandate, which called the Anabaptists not only falsifiers of Scripture, but also outright revolutionaries.² But what in effect did these groups and conventicles stand for?

The first known "Gemeindeordnung" (community ordinance) which Robert Friedmann³ attributes to Hans Schlaffer, who apparently wrote this ordinance for the Anabaptist community of Rattenberg in the Tyrol, is not content with regulating the religious life of the community but constitutes a document that pervades all aspects of the social life. Religion and the social aspects of life are inseparable. This document⁴ which has only twelve articles, begins by asking for God's grace and the revelation of his divine will. From here it changes to regulations regarding the frequency of meetings, followed by regulations regarding punishment for disorderly life. In the fourth article it expresses the sentiments to hold all gifts of God in common and to contribute to the common need of all brothers and sisters.

The fifth, sixth and seventh articles are concerned with the duties of the elders regarding the poor; decent conduct of all members before the brotherhood and the world; and the regulation of meetings, speeches and discussions.

¹Ibid., Vol. II, p. 851

²Ibid., Vol IV, p. 726

³Robert Friedmann, Hutterite Studies, (Mennonite Historical Society, Goshen, Indiana, 1961), pp. 213-218.

⁴See Appendix II.

In article eight, eating and drinking habits are discussed and regulated. Article nine is concerned with the secrecy regarding the brotherhood and article ten admonishes the members of the brotherhood not to be frightened "by every wind and cry."

Finally, article eleven regulates the ritual of the Lord's supper and in article twelve all members of the brotherhood are admonished to watch and wait for the coming of the Lord so that they might flee from the evil that will come to the world.¹

This short document radiates a spirit of fraternity and solidarity. The common possession of spiritual and material things is emphasized. Orderly moral conduct is seen as a necessity. Secrecy regarding the matters of the community fosters - in-group-out-group relation. The ritual of the Lord's supper and the expected waiting for the Lord to descend expresses these in-group characteristics and defines the religious objectives of the group. Social life and religious beliefs are treated unilaterally - as mutually supporting. The care for the poor and decent table manners are as much a moral obligation as the belief in the coming of Christ and the participation in the ritual of the Lord's supper.

The Anabaptist member was not only required to believe, he was required to behave according to his beliefs. Early Anabaptism in the Tyrol contains that uncompromising parity between value orientation and behavior patterns which is a characteristic of all folk societies. What ought to be and what is forms an unbroken unity of meaning. It is this consistent unity of meaning which covers God, the Universe, Eternity, the Earth and

¹See Appendix II.

human behavior, which lies at the base of the whole Anabaptist-Hutterite movement.

The Schlaffer document expresses no opinions regarding matters beyond the boundaries of its own community. The group is pictured as a self-contained Gemeinschaft type of social structure. However, the fear of contamination by the world and the attempt to escape from the inevitable dreadful fate of the world, constituted a recurrent and important theme of Anabaptism. These notions lead to the concept of separation from the world as it became later incorporated in the Hutterite ideology and one must ask why these people tried so desperately to draw a line between their own group and the rest of the world. Obviously they saw themselves as proponents of a life which stood in contrast to the various social forces which determined the mode of living "in the world". What Gaissmaier had expressed in his political program regarding the establishment of a Peasant Republic in the Tyrol, found its expression among the Anabaptists in religious ideas.

These Anabaptist communities criticized the world by withdrawing from contact with it. Of the two possibilities to either change the world, or withdraw from it, the latter was predetermined through the military defeat of the peasants that had tried the first possibility. The tactical necessity of withdrawal from the world was functional in so far as it created a strong in-group feeling and morale. It led to an attitude of pacifism and non-violence among the Anabaptist-Hutterites conventicles and fostered a strong sense of identity.

In 1529 the news of the communal churches in Moravia reached Tyrol and Jacob Hutter was sent to Moravia to investigate. He came back and

reported favorably about the communities he had seen. He sent one small group after another to Moravia. In 1534, the movement was general among the Anabaptists of Tyrol. The exodus reached such proportions that the government issued orders to guard the ships of the Inn and the Danube.¹ Several groups were intercepted this way, however, the larger number of Anabaptists reached Moravia where they hoped to find the "place where the true word of God and His divine justice would prevail".

SUMMARY AND EVALUATION

The events in the Tyrol show a strong historical correlation between a military and a religious social movement both of which attempted to revolutionize society. Gaissmaier's Peasant-Republic tried to tear down those social structures that had incorporated Gesellschaft-type of social relations. Capitalistic forms of mercantalism, as well as private ownership of land, mines, and resources were to be abolished. Urban centres were converted to villages; and the money-economy replaced by a "cost plus labor" price economy. The impersonal Roman Law was to be supplanted by the Common Law. Those social structures that were to be torn down, were supposed to be replaced by Gemeinschaft-type of social structures.

Among the social relations that were to be re-introduced were the common possession of land, mines and resource; the divine, moral, "Christian" government of University teachers; the re-establishment of rural relations, the "just price" economy, and extensive self-administration. The care for the poor and the creation of health and welfare institutions point into the same direction. These were the objectives of a social movement, born

¹Ibid., Vol.III, p. 40.

out of social unrest and popular excitement.

We have seen that these plans failed due to the military defeat of the peasants and miners. Immediately following military defeat Anabaptism began to spread in the Tyrol. Groups and conventicles which gathered in secrecy began to define their objectives. Their organizational structure and their operating tactics were different, but the nature of their discontent and the nature of the changes they had in mind were the same as those of the military groups. They tried to build a meaningful Gemeinschaft-life very much in the same way as the defeated peasant. Their scale of operation was much smaller and limited to the immediate group. However, in their rejection of the ills and abuses of the Gesellschaft-type of society they demonstrated the same spirit as Gaissmaier. They proposed common ownership of goods and common moral responsibilities as a basis for interpersonal relations very much in the same way as it was expressed in Gaissmaier's constitution. Gaissmaier attempted to build a state based on Gemeinschaft-type of relations; the Anabaptist groups were content with the realization of Gemeinschaft-type relations within their immediate group of believers. As different as the political Gemeinschaft structure of the state and the religious Gemeinschaft structure of the sect appeared, they nevertheless attempted to realize the same goal, - the re-establishment of collectively-cooperatively oriented types of social relations.

It seems to be quite immaterial whether Gaissmaier's plans were realistic under the circumstances and whether the state he tried to build could have functioned the way he intended it. The important point is that such a state was the objective and the people involved acted on these objectives.

The objectives of the Anabaptist-Hutterite sect were equally unrealistic. None of the existing political powers in Germany was willing to tolerate a sect with Anabaptist characteristics within its sphere of influence. Due to the ongoing persecution, the social movement of the Anabaptist-Hutterites never had an opportunity to put its ideas into practice. When the existence of Anabaptist communities in Moravia became known to the Tyrolean Anabaptists, they immediately seized on this alternative and began to migrate to this country. The movement, which was unable to enter the stage of formalization due to hostile political and religious forces, changed its social environment and regained its freedom of action through selective migration.

The events in the Tyrol were marked by another noteworthy development. The agitators of the Anabaptist-Hutterite social movement up to the year 1527 were highly educated individuals. Many of them were former Catholic priests or monks. Others can be classified as Humanists. This class of agitators proved to be highly effective in arousing a popular excitement. But at least in the Tyrol they hardly had any practical influence on the further development of the movement. By 1528 most of them were executed and the leadership of the movement passed into the hands of less educated but more practical people. Jacob Hutter proved to be one of these persons, who combined a strong set of convictions with a great talent for charismatic leadership and organization. He prepared and organized the exodus of the Anabaptists from the Tyrol and as such assured the perpetuation of the movement. To his credit also goes the selection of that Anabaptist community in Moravia which corresponded most closely to the views of the Tyrolean groups. The particular development which the Moravian groups experienced, and how the Tyrolean movement merged with them, will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VI

DATA AND ANALYSIS OF THE GROUP FORMING PROCESS

THE AIM AND THE THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THIS CHAPTER

In the previous chapters the beginnings of the Anabaptist-Hutterite movement in Zuerich and in the Tyrol have been dealt with. The data presented indicate, that the movement in Zuerich emerged in association with the popular excitement which the Zwinglian reform caused among the peasants. Subsequently suppressed and extinguished in Zuerich, save for some migrants and agitators, the movement re-emerged in the Tyrol in association with the popular uprising of the peasants and miners. In both cases the movement was prevented from developing its program and its objectives freely. The fact which is necessary to retain is that both of these movements were the result of widespread social unrest and popular excitement constituting attempts to rebuild society on the model of an older social order. Concurrently with Anabaptist developments in the Tyrol in 1527, groups of Swiss and South German Anabaptist refugees were settling in Nikolsburg in Moravia, and whereas the various Anabaptist movements were subject to widespread persecution in Switzerland and all parts of the German Empire, Moravia (situated on the eastern fringes of the Empire) provided a tolerable degree of religious and political freedom.

The Anabaptist community in Nikolsburg had, for a short time, a membership estimated as ranging from 6,000 to 12,000 people. The founder and leader of this congregation was Dr. Balthasar Hubmaier, the agitator and leader of the Waldshut rebellion. The ruler of the principality of which Nikolsburg was the centre, Leonhard von Lichtenstein, was a member of the Anabaptist faith.¹

¹ J. Loserth, Doktor Balthasar Hubmaier und die Anfaenge der Wieder-taeufer in Maehren, (Bruo, 1893).

There are two reasons why we are now interested in the development of the movement in Nikolsburg, Moravia. First, the social movement in Nikolsburg constituted the continuation of the Zuerich as well as the Tyrolean movements. Swiss refugees mainly from Zuerich were among the founders of the Anabaptist group in Moravia in 1527. Beginning in 1529, the Tyrolean Anabaptist movement merged with the movement in Moravia. Secondly, we have observed that the Zuerich as well as the Tyrolean movements had little opportunity to formalize their movements because of the ongoing persecution of these groups by the political authorities. Since both of these movements found their continuation in the Nikolsburg Anabaptist group and since the Nikolsburg group existed under a political system which tolerated Anabaptists, the process by which this group formalized itself, defined its objectives, built esprit de corps and morale, formed an integral part of the whole development of the Anabaptist-Hutterite social movement. It is necessary to see the events of Zuerich, the Tyrol and Nikolsburg as essential parts of a whole process by which the Anabaptist-Hutterite sect emerged. Hampered and persecuted by political and religious powers, the movement had now gained the freedom for further development through selective migration.

It is also necessary to see how during the years from 1527 to 1536 the movement defined its objectives and formalized its social relations. In accordance with the theoretical orientation of the thesis the development of an esprit de corps and the development of morale among the Anabaptist migrants is of particular interest.

Esprit de corps might be thought of as the organizing of feeling on behalf of the movement. In developing feelings of intimacy and closeness, people have the sense of sharing a common experience and of forming

a select group. Personal reserves break down and the patterns of interaction tend to be of cooperation rather than competition. Such conditions of mutual sympathy and responsiveness obviously make for concerted behavior.

Esprit de corps in a social movement develops in three ways: the development of an in-group-out-group relationship, the formation of informal fellowship associations, and the participation in formal ceremonial behavior.

Morale can be thought of as giving persistency and determination to a movement; its test is whether solidarity can be maintained in the face of adversity. In the case of a social movement, these convictions that make for morale seem to be of three types. There is first a conviction of the rectitude of the purpose of the movement. What is evil, unjust, improper, and wrong will be eradicated with the success of the movement. These beliefs yield to the members of the movement a marked confidence in themselves. A second conviction closely identified with these beliefs is a faith in the ultimate attainment of the movement's goals. Since the movement is felt to be a necessary agent for the regeneration of the world, it is regarded as being in line with the higher moral values of the universe and in this sense as divinely favored. Thirdly, as part of this complex of convictions, there is the belief that the movement is charged with a sacred mission. Together these three convictions serve to give an enduring and unchangeable character to the goal of a movement and a tenacity to its effort.

The development of morale in a movement is essentially a matter of developing a sectarian attitude and a religious faith. The more

prominent means by which such a faith is built up is the "saint" cult which develops. Great leaders become deified and endowed with miraculous powers. They are regarded as grossly superior, intelligent, and infallible and are acknowledged by an attitude of reverence and awe.

A similar function is fulfilled by the emergence of a creed and a sacred literature. Finally, great importance must be attached to myths in the development of social movements. They may be myths of being a select group or a chosen people; myths of the inhumanity of one's opponent; myths about the destiny of the movement; myths depicting a glorious and millennial society to be realized by the movement. Such myths usually grow out of, and in response to, the desires and hopes of the people in the movement and acquire, by virtue of their collective character, a solidity, a permanency and an unquestioned acceptance.¹

FROM A GENERAL TO A SPECIFIC SOCIAL MOVEMENT

Dawson and Gettys have noted that the spread of individual restlessness is a selective process. Not all people respond to social unrest in the same way. They write:

Studies of collective behaviors have shown, however, that not all persons will be influenced by a given stimulus, or will be affected to the same degree. In some situations, differences in response tendencies seem to be related to certain general categories like sex, age, race, nationality, status etc., but in other situations they cut across these categories. Also, differences in the constitutional makeup of individuals, as well as differential factors in social experience may predispose some individuals to one type of response and other individuals to a variant and even contrary one. Observation shows, however,

¹Blumer, op.cit., abbreviated, pp. 206-211.

that collective behavior eventuates when there is a conjunction of an exciting situation and a number of suggestible individuals who respond to a common stimulus and to the restive behavior of each other.¹

It has been shown how people belonging to different social groups responded differently to the popular state of excitement in Zurich. The differentiation between the Zwinglian Church and the Anabaptist-Hutterite social movement was the result of such differentiated responses. In this chapter the analysis is designed to demonstrate the above proposition further; that is, how a specific social movement emerges from a general social movement through such selective responses. Theoretically this occurs as follows:

In a situation marked by popular excitement individuals have the tendency to respond to a given stimuli, idea, or social issue in different ways according to characteristics such as class, profession, sex etc. The mechanisms of such situations operate such that groups sharing a common characteristic relevant for the evaluation of the situation have a tendency to respond to the situation in the same way. One consequence of such process is that an undifferentiated larger group becomes factionalized into a number of smaller groups. However, while the larger group tends to be disunited and lacks homogeneous integration with respect to the response patterns to the given stimuli, idea or social issue, each of the factionalized subgroups tends to become homogeneously integrated and united because each responds to the situation in common. In this manner each of the several sub-groups that might develop, defines the nature and the particular response toward an issue or stimuli and

¹ Dawson and Gettys, op. cit., pp. 603-604.

at the same time recruits the membership of its own subgroup. In case this process is repeated with respect to successive stimuli, ideas, or social issues, the result is the formation of a small but highly unified and cohesive group. All individuals sharing the same views and opinions on a number of vital issues have drifted out of a larger undifferentiated group and have formed a subgroup of their own. In this way the subgroup not only has defined its detailed objectives and clarified the responses toward the objectives, but also has organized the membership that accepts the objectives as well as the responses toward them.

These theoretical principles regarding the factionalization of groups, and of simultaneous accumulation and focussing of cultural patterns, underlie the analysis of the following data. Hence the above theoretical scheme will be applied to the formalizing process which characterized developments in the Anabaptist-Hutterite group in Nikolsburg between 1527 and 1536. Particular attention will be given to the nature of these social issues, or stimuli, which arose during the formalizing process, the mechanism of the process, and those social issues toward which individual subgroups reacted in common. It is inferred that esprit de corps, morale, identity, the creed of a social movement - in fact the entire mechanism of system integration - are the consequences of the common responses of a group to a given stimuli, idea or social issue. The structure of such common responses forms part of the institutionalized patterns or cultural matrix of a group or society.

As Georg Herbert Mead observed:

The institutions represent a common response on the part of all members of the community to a particular situation.¹

¹Anselm Strauss, The Social Psychology of Georg Herbert Mead, (The University of Chicago Press, 1959), p. 261.

The writer's task in this chapter is to analytically test the above stated postulate with reference to the Anabaptist-Hutterite developments in Nikolsburg. That is, an attempt will be made to demonstrate the validity of the concept that organization of common response patterns (for example, the creation of esprit de corps, morale, etc. which in an advanced stage of development may be thought of as cultural patterns or institutions) can arise in a social movement as a consequence of factionalization over social issues and resulting in the formation of unified and cohesive social groups. It is the "sorting out process" of common responses which creates new social institutions.

The Anabaptist group which had settled in 1527 in Nikolsburg took such a variety of different forms that a contemporary historian, Franck, commented:

Although dissensions exist in all sects, yet are the Baptists peculiarly disunited and split up; in so much that I know not what certainly and finally to write about them.¹

Another contemporary historian, Bullinger, wrote:

Many hold that it is impossible to give an accurate account of all the distinctions and antagonistic opinions, and pernicious, horrible sects or factions existing among the Anabaptists. In truth, few communities will be found which are unanimous in their views, and have not each its own mystery, i. e., its own fantasy.²

With the exception of a few well-educated leaders, the majority of the Anabaptist members in Nikolsburg were people with lower-class urban and rural backgrounds. Many of them were journeymen in the various crafts of the time, and others peasants, or village craftsmen.

¹ Franck, Chronica Zeytbuch und bibel von anbegyn biss inn diss gegenwartig, MDCXXXI jar. (Strassburg, 1531), p. 443.

² Bullinger, Der Widertacuffer ursprung, furgang, Secten, wassen froememen und gemeine vier leer Artickel etc. (Zuerich, 1531), p. 17.

These people subscribed to a variety of beliefs and ideas, - some of which were self contradictory - which formed an amorphous ideological pool.

There existed a division between the penniless migrants and the established population who had some property rights and other privileges.

One of the first problems which the congregation in Nikòlsburg had to settle was whether a church could be established within, or outside the framework of some existing political authority. This issue had the Church-State dilemma at its base which here, as in Zuerich, constituted the decisive turning point for the movement.

Open conflict broke out among the migrants over the payment of taxes for war and the question of defence against common enemies.¹ Since no overall agreement could be reached on these issues factionalization took place. Those Anabaptists who rejected taxes for war and military service, separated themselves from cooperation with any of the political authorities of the time. Associated with this decision was the refusal of the oath and the refusal to serve in any political office. These responses determined the character of the movement as a sectarian organization and led to the establishment of non-cooperative in-group-out-group relations between the sect and the rest of the world. Furthermore, these decisions represented a protest against and the rejection of Gesellschaft-types of relations. Military service was regarded as an evil; especially since it was associated with political sovereigns whose territorial ambitions had overtones of self-aggrandizement quite alien to the thinking of the peasant class. The rejection of the political

¹Zieglischmid, Das Klein-Geschichtsbuch der Hutterischen Brueder, op. cit., p. 7.

hierarchy and the refusal to take the oath constituted a reaction against the Roman Law. These groups as it turned out did not reject an affirmation or a pledge. As a matter of fact they used these forms extensively in their own system. Under the Roman Law the oath was extensively used as a means to enforce and to execute contractual business relations which to the lower classes were incomprehensible. The refusal to swear in court, therefore, expressed the deep seated antagonism against the introduction of a meaningless legal system.

The result of this organizing of responses was that the Anabaptist population in Nikolsburg was factionalized into two groups. These groups were called the "Schwertler" (those who carry the sword) and the "Staebler" (those who carry a staff).¹ The refusal to cooperate with the political powers necessitated a physical separation between the "Staebler" and the "Schwertler". Since the Count of Nikolsburg who was himself an Anabaptist attempted to have all Anabaptists settle on his land with himself as the Lord over all settlements, the presence of a politically non-cooperative group proved to be intolerable. As a result, the "Staebler" group left Nikolsburg and settled nearby in Austerlitz.

The first factionalization, which in the historical accounts of the Anabaptist-Hutterite group is called "the first purification",² organized and defined the political responses of the remaining members and gave the movement a sectarian character separated from the rest of the world. This step on the other hand enhanced a common identity and esprit de corps.

¹Zieglschmid, op. cit., p. 18.

²Ibid, p. 18.

A second factionalization took place over economic issues. The "Schwertler" who had accepted a pattern of cooperation with political authorities almost automatically accepted the idea of private property. In contrast the "Staebler" who had rejected political cooperation accepted the idea of common property but factionalized over the extent of such common property. While two Staebler factions, instituted a "community of love" a third group abolished private property altogether, and instituted a complete "community of goods". The first transformation period in the developing Anabaptist-Hutterite sect ended with the successive introduction of political and economic Gemeinschaft-types of social relations. The structural consequence of this process was the formation of a centre of redistribution of goods and allocation of work.

The economic relations from one member to another became dominated by cooperative and collective action. In the primary setting of the group these cooperative-collective relations were enforced through the application of moral obligations and constraints. The participation in the group was conceived as a moral duty.

The introduction of the "community of goods" meant the extension of Gemeinschaft-type of relations to the economic area. This type of relation had already attained a sacred character. Common property and collective action was seen as something intrinsically good and desirable. These relations constituted the rightful alternatives to the "outside" Gesellschaft which the group rejected.

Interesting in this connection is the fact that the "community of love" which perhaps came nearer to the old social relations in the rural social structures than the "community of goods" proved to be

dysfunctional in the long run. This system left too many areas of behavior undefined. How much of his property and income was the individual to give and to whom? How should the individual organize his economic activities in the presence of an outside world which always offered alternatives in various forms? These problems could not be defined in such a way that the group at the same time was strengthened to a point where it could successfully deal with intruding forces from the outside. The "community of love" left too much of the decision making power to the individual - a factor which weakened the cohesive powers of the group. As a result, the groups which had adopted a community of love in Moravia disappeared within a relative short time. Parts of these groups became absorbed by those who had adopted a complete community of goods.

In contrast to the community of love, the relations in the community of goods weakened the powers of the individual and strengthened those of the group. The strict observance of the "no-property" rule for the individual increased its survival value greatly. It gave the group the means for persistent and determinate action and intensified the sense of its sacred mission. When in 1535 the persecution of the Anabaptists in Moravia began, all other groups disappeared save for the Anabaptist-Hutterite movement which due to its extraordinary group cohesiveness survived even the most cruel forms of persecution. The successive introduction of political and economic Gemeinschaft-types of social relations in the developing Anabaptist-Hutterite sect brought the first transforming period to an end. The membership of the group by this time consisted entirely of craftsmen and peasants. Factionalization over the two issues had removed all members of those social

classes, which due to their class position could not agree with the changes that were introduced. The Count of Lichtenstein for example due to his class interest would hardly have followed the same path. In 1529 a new period of factionalization began. This time the issue centred around the leadership and the ethnic composition of the group. This was the time when Jacob Hutter from the Tyrol visited the communities in Moravia and decided to join those which had already introduced the political and economic Gemeinschaft relations.

Jacob Hutter had a great charismatic power over those Anabaptists whom he sent to Moravia. Within a short time, conflict arose between his followers who had joined the community and the older membership. The result was a new split and most of Jacob Hutter's followers settled in Auspitz. Following this factionalization all prominent leaders were expelled from the new group for various petty reasons. Most of these leaders were not native Tyroleans. Again Hutter appeared on the scene appointing new leaders and unifying all groups exercising communities of love and communities of goods. Two years later when he was forced to flee from the Tyrol the established leadership tried to prevent him from assuming the highest office of the preacher. In the following power struggle Jacob Hutter finally obtained the upper hand and assumed the leadership. His victory however was marked by a new factionalization between those groups who kept the community of love and those who had adopted the community of goods. In a final act Jacob Hutter expelled all rival factions from the group whose leadership he had obtained. The remaining relatively small membership constituted a cohesive primary group, politically, economically, and ethnically united under a strong

charismatic and popular leadership.

Two-and-a-half years later Hutter was executed in Innsbruck. By this time the group had formalized to such an extent that his martyr's death gave the movement the "saint cult" under which it continued to flourish.

When the Moravian nobility in 1536 finally yielded to the pressure of the German Emperor and persecuted the various Anabaptist groups in Moravia, the Hutterite group lost its last doubting and undecided elements, and emerged after one year of persecution as a strong and completely united group. While all other Anabaptist groups disappeared from the scene (many of them joining the Hutterites),¹ the Hutterite group expanded on the basis of its established social structure, and multiplied to twenty seven communities within the next decade. The significant point is that during this period of expansion Hutterites did not form larger social units, but multiplied those Gemeinschaft-type of social units for which they had developed a functional structure.

In order to secure these social structures from the effects of too many new members joining over too short a time, a prolonged probation time for each new member and prolonged discussions and clarifications regarding the way of life in the communities were introduced. In this way the movement minimized the effects which new members had on the total composition of the movement.

The religious creed of the Hutterite sect was drawn up between 1540 and 1544 by Peter Rideman². The creed was developed partly to give

¹Zieglschmid, Das Klein-Geschichtsbuch der Hutterischen Brueder, op. cit., pp. 44-82.

²Friedmann, op. cit., p. 224.

imprisoned Hutterites principles which would enable them to defend themselves against public accusations and judicial indictments; partly to familiarize new members with Hutterite practices and doctrines; and partly it served as a document instructing sect members how to deal with the contemporary political authorities without violating the Hutterite beliefs.

Hutterites who intended to establish a new community sent this creed to the landholding authorities and asked for the toleration of those sectarian peculiarities which were spelled out in this document. Only after assurances in this direction were given, did Hutterites settle on the land in question.

SUMMARY AND EVALUATION

The crucial steps in the process of formalization of the Anabaptist-Hutterite sect were marked by defining the political responses of the group to the outside world; by determining the economic relations of the members within the sect and by finding leadership for the group. The political and the economic clarifications both tended toward the reintroduction of Gemeinschaft-types of relations. The sect clearly put itself in contrast to the existing association between the state and the church. It rejected this type of political association which had incorporated social relations of the Gesellschaft-type. The social bond between the members of the State-Church was not based on a moral but on a contractual commitment. The unity between the state and the church was one of efficiency and practicality. It served the bureaucratic and administrative needs of both. Politically the state needed the spiritual

support of the church for its policies and economically it needed the church for the justification of its economic system. The church, particularly the Protestant Churches, needed the political powers for protection against rival outside forces and for the furthering of their reform program within the state. Zwingli won the city government for his cause. Luther made the territorial princes the "emergency bishops" of his church. He found them to be a necessary evil, but he needed their political powers to support his church. (Calvin's work in Geneva began in 1536 when the Hutterite movement was already well formalized.)

The unity between the national state and the national church was characteristic for the new social relations and the new social structures that came into being.¹ They were necessitated by profound economic and political changes which had taken place in society. However, while these changes affected and favored the ruling economic and political classes, the peasants, craftsmen, and miners were alienated by these changes which were forced upon them.

The Anabaptist-Hutterite membership reacted against this general trend in a fashion which can only be regarded as politically conservative. They reintroduced wherever possible the primary folk relationships of the Gemeinschaft-type which were regarded as the reconstitution of the virtues and "glory" of a mythical-ideal past-the recreation of a "Golden Age" and the reification of the "City of God".

¹

The term "national" in this context is used to characterize the emergent regional, political and economic units. In the case of England it comprised a whole country. In Germany this development was restricted to smaller political and economic entities coinciding with the boundaries of the territorial sovereigns.

These Gemeinschaft relations were justified by appropriate Bible interpretation. What was selected from the Bible was selected because people were already pre-disposed toward the reintroduction of these relations which still had meaning for them. Zwingli and Luther had no trouble interpreting the Bible in different ways.

While Weber thought that Calvinism was a historical accident the development of the Anabaptist movement cannot be regarded in the same light. Anabaptism, as the foregoing analysis has shown, was, in the perspective of the social conditions of the time, a sociologically logical development stemming from the reaction of certain classes alienated by a changing society and which were seeking to reconstruct for themselves a more satisfying and meaningful societal system.

It is therefore not surprising that the factionalizations within the Anabaptist movement began with political and economic issues. The terminology which was used to fight those struggles for clarification was entirely religious. However, the factual guidance which the Bible could provide was rather scanty and anything but clear. The nature of the early apostolical church as characterized in the Bible was used to justify the political and economic predispositions of the Anabaptists and the Bible provided guidance regarding a number of rituals and ceremonies. The Bible did not provide, however, a model for the organization of production or for the organization of work which were two of the most important structural features in the sect. The similarity between the biblical apostolical church and the ideas regarding a Gemeinschaft-type of society which the Anabaptists detected constitutes a creative and original solution on their part. It constitutes the process by which pre-existing social dispositions became deified and achieved a

sacred meaning. This was a selective process whereby people being socially predisposed in a certain direction justified and deified their predispositions. This function was not confined to the Anabaptist-Hutterite group but operated among the Zwinglians and Lutherans as well. Both of these systems justified and in fact deified a political and economic system quite different from that of the Anabaptist-Hutterites.

The fact that such a justification and deification of social relations becomes formulated by a relatively small number of people is not surprising either. Among all three groups - Lutherans, Zwinglians, and Anabaptists - those members whose commitment to the ideology was greatest were the ones who formulated and introduced new social innovations. The degree of commitment to a value orientation has to be seen in relation to the individual's opportunity to act on it, the ability to express it, and the support which the individual or the group receives in the process of action and expression.

In these chapters it has been shown that the commitment to Gemeinschaft-type of relations was quite widespread at the Reformation. The opportunity to act on these values, the ability to formulate and to express them, and the support, or lack of it, which was received was instrumental in narrowing Anabaptist-Hutterite membership to a considerable extent. It was shown that the process of factionalization of a social movement is essentially related to such factors.

CHAPTER VII

THE TEST OF THE HYPOTHESIS AND THE THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

THE TESTING OF THE HYPOTHESIS

In the present chapter we will attempt to test our hypothesis which states that:

The institutional life and the religious ideology, as it became structured and shaped within the social process of the developing Anabaptist-Hutterite sect, contained and realized non-religious social relations which originated in those social classes from which Hutterite members were recruited.

This hypothesis was derived from the theoretical position of Georg Simmel which was outlined in some detail in chapter II. Furthermore the term "social relations" was defined as a constellation of social characteristics lying on a continuum between two limiting typologies--Gemeinschaft to Gesellschaft. Some examples from the works of Emile Durkheim, Pitirim Sorokin and Ferdinand Toennies were quoted demonstrating the nature of the social relations involved.

In chapter three we presented data which allowed us to analyse the social structures of the guilds and the German Markgenossenschaft in terms of our Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft typology. At the end of this chapter the conclusion was expressed that these structures originally tended toward Gemeinschaft-type of social relations. Human relations were centred around a collective-cooperative way of life. At the same time it was shown, that these structures were rapidly transformed and either developed Gesellschaft-types of relations from within, as exemplified by the guilds, or were invaded by other emergent social structures which destroyed the

Gemeinschaft relations from without, as seen in the development of the Markgenossenschaft.

The transformation of Gemeinschaft structures to Gesellschaft structures and the invasion of Gemeinschaft structures by Gesellschaft structures resulted in a profound division of society into opposing classes. Within the guilds, the class distinction between master and journeymen led to an economic and political clash of interest. The acquisition of the urban political powers by the guilds widened the distinction between masters and journeymen. The ranks of the latter were swelled by the emergence of a city proletariat. Gesellschaft-types of social relations which were introduced by the guilds were necessitated by the particular interests which this class pursued. The securing of markets and the administration of the acquired political powers in combination with the effects of an ever increasing money economy caused a slow but continuous transformation of the Gemeinschaft relations within the guilds toward Gesellschaft relations.

The process was accelerated as a consequence of the increasing division of labor brought about by enlarging markets, necessitating longer-range economy planning, and the development of the economic factor of "organization" caused by the need for greater risk sharing on the part of the entrepreneurs. While this process favored the class of masters, the journeymen and the lower classes of the population were through this transforming process alienated from their customary way of life. As a result, large numbers of urban rebellions occurred marking a state of social unrest in the urban centres prior to the Reformation.

A similar, if not entirely parallel development took place in the German Markgenossenschaft. The traditional social, economic and political unity of the Markgenossenschaft was broken down and replaced by the contract system. The feudal rights which were an integral part of the traditional peasant organization were assumed by the new structure which used them as part of the structure's vested interest. While the lower nobility because of their closeness to the peasant scene remained part of the peasant social organization, the emergence of the larger territorial princes and sovereigns contributed to the severance of the old solidarity bonds, such that certain aspects of the peasant life became dysfunctional. For example the administrative demands of these territorial princes--demands which were forced on the peasants--in legal, political and economic areas proved to be anomic structural influences alienating the peasants as measured by subsequent widespread social unrest.

The inability of the peasants to understand and to handle a money economy was part of this alienating process. As in the guilds, the principle shift in the structure of the Markgenossenschaft took place from Gemeinschaft to Gesellschaft-types of relations. The introduction of the Roman Law and the money economy are outstanding examples of this.

One may conclude from the inquiry in chapter three, that those social structures which were analyzed did, in fact, tend toward Gemeinschaft-type of relations. It is not implied that these structures had Gemeinschaft-types of relations per se. What the writer has attempted to demonstrate is the fact that these social structures had more Gemeinschaft-like relations than the developing capitalistic middle class. This new class represented the owners

of production and hence accepted an economic system based on contractual relationships between employer and employee. It was composed primarily of those who owned the factors of production--land, labor and capital--which represented the elemental means to the production of goods.

Finally, it was shown that the antagonistic position between the "gemeinschaftlich" and the "gesellschaftlich" oriented classes created a widespread state of social unrest in Germany. From these general observations the writer turned to data concerning the emergence of two social movements. The data was analysed in accordance with the theoretical concepts presented by Herbert Blumer and others and cognizance was taken of Werner Sobart's theory which implied that revolutionary movements are capable of progressing forwards or backwards. With the help of these theoretical concepts the emergence of the Zwinglian Church and the Anabaptist-Hutterite movement in Zuerich was evaluated. It was observed, that the first took the form of a reform movement whereby the religious institution became reformed in accord with the existing Gesellschaft-type of relations in the city state of Zuerich. We found that the Church-State conception symbolized and designated these relations. At the same time the emergence of the Anabaptist movement was noted which was supported by the lower classes and which tried to reintroduce Gemeinschaft-types of social relations. The believers' church demanding a moral commitment from each adult member tried to rebuild the old unity between belief and behavior. This believers' church was intended to be free of political and economic ties in contrast to the State-Church conception. It tried to cover these relations within the general moral constitution of the Gemeinschaft group where political and economic relations were part of the moral bond between all members.

From the Zuerich scene where this Anabaptist movement finally was suppressed, the writer analysed developments in the Tyrol and observed in chapter V how this movement found its continuation in this country. Remarkable similarity was found between the ideas of those Tyrolean peasants and craftsmen who attempted to overthrow their feudal overlords by military means and those who flocked to the Anabaptist-Hutterite groups which began to flourish after the military attempts ended in failure. Attention was paid to Gaissmaier's attempt to build a state on Gemeinschaft relations. While acknowledging the difference in organization between Gaissmaier's attempt to build a state on Gemeinschaft relations and the Anabaptist-Hutterite small scale sect, a clear similarity was detected between these movements in terms of our typology. As a noteworthy sidestep one might refer to Ferdinand Toennies' characterization of the "Volksgemeinschaft" as a political entity with cooperative functions.¹ Ferdinand Toennies implies, that although size may have an influence on whether a social group assumes Gemeinschaft or Gesellschaft characteristics he believes that a "Volk" can be organized in Gemeinschaft units, similar to those that existed in the early Middle Ages. Gaissmaier who thought in terms of the Tyrolean countryside had such a "Volksgemeinschaft" in mind while the Anabaptist-Hutterites hardly were able to plan beyond the social boundaries of their own small communities. The significant point however is, that in the Tyrol the same basic relations were encountered expressed in a Volksgemeinschaft and in a sectarian movement. In both cases people tried to return to Gemeinschaft-types of social relations.

¹Ferdinand Toennis, op. cit., pp. 256-259.

Finally attention was paid to the process of formalization among the various Anabaptist factions in Moravia. It was found that through continuous factionalization over political, economic and leadership issues, the Anabaptist-Hutterite group accumulated radical Gemeinschaft-types of social relations. We showed that the Anabaptist-Hutterite group was not the only group having Gemeinschaft characteristics. Other groups similar to the Anabaptist-Hutterites were founded but proved not to be strong enough in the face of widespread discrimination and persecution.

Considering the development of the Anabaptist-Hutterite movement from its beginning in Zuerich to its stage of formalization in Moravia around the year 1536, one can see a persistent and continuous concern of the membership to reestablish Gemeinschaft relations. This sect selected from the Bible an ideology which expressed its religious sentiments in Gemeinschaft terms, very much in contrast to other sects and churches which expressed these sentiments in individualistic terms. One can also see a persistent rejection of political and economic relations which had assumed Gesellschaft characteristics. The rejection of the State-Church concept is an example of this.

On the basis of the foregoing arguments, it must be concluded, that the religious ideology and the social institutions of the Anabaptist-Hutterite group in fact became structured and shaped by Gemeinschaft-types of social relations which pre-existed in those social classes from which this membership was recruited. Our hypothesis thus seems to be confirmed.

THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

With our hypothesis confirmed we will recall, that we demonstrated in the Hutterite-Anabaptist sect the operation of the same psychological sanctions which Weber detected in Calvinism. Weber, as we mentioned, attributed to these psychological sanctions the rise of economic rationalism which in combination with asceticism he saw as the basic ingredient of the spirit of capitalism. The Anabaptist-Hutterite sect which possessed the same psychological sanctions and which was even more ascetic than the most ascetic Calvinist community, never developed the economic rationalism nor the spirit of capitalism. These psychological sanctions were channelled into the direction of a cooperative-collective way of life. The individual Hutterite was psychologically forced to participate in the group but his basic orientation was "gemeinschaftlich" and not capitalistically or individualistically determined. We can not but conclude from this comparison, that the effects of Weber's psychological sanctions did at least go in two directions. If these psychological sanctions fostered individualism and capitalism, they likewise fostered collectivism and a cooperative economic system. As a cause of modern capitalism they appear to be highly doubtful. However this does not mean that they did not function so as to support the development of either of these two systems, once the nature of the system had been determined. These psychological sanctions kept the individual Anabaptist-Hutterite member tied to his group and made him participate in the activities of the group. But these psychological sanctions did not determine

the nature of the group. These sanctions wherever they were at work, functioned as devices of social control and not as causes for any particular type of society. Moreover these sanctions did not invariably lead to higher forms of rationalism. Weber attributed to the workings of these sanctions the development from a "wertrational" to a "zweckrational" way of thinking. The nature of the Anabaptist-Hutterite communities in North America as they exist today is completely traditionalistically determined, which in Weber's view would constitute a reversal of the trend which he hypothesized.

If the psychological sanctions to which Weber attributed so much influence tied the respective individuals to at least two very different forms of the calling, can it not be assumed that the same type of sanctions would support any other calling just as well? This view finds some support in the findings of this study.

Our hypothesis implies a causality in the sense that the nature of the religious ideology of the group as well as its institutions became shaped and structured by non-religious social relations which pre-existed in those classes from which the members of the group were recruited. It seems that one has to be careful in deriving a causal connection from the confirmation of the hypothesis. We have in fact demonstrated that the religious ideology of the Anabaptist-Hutterite group as well as its institutions realized Gemeinschaft-types of social relations. At the same time we have seen, that there was not only one solution to the general social unrest but many. Some emphasized the Gemeinschaft relations more some less. The influence which these Gemeinschaft

relations had must be seen in relation to other relevant variables which entered into the development of the particular social movement. Moreover all these variables were subjected to evaluations in a particular social situation. It was much easier for the penniless Tyrolean migrants in Moravia to cast their vote for the introduction of the community of goods than for the Count of Lichtenstein or other property holding groups. For those Tyroleans who left their property behind in the Tyrol, the decision might have been more influenced through the charismatic leadership of Hutter and the effects of a popular excitement than the desire to restore Gemeinschaft relations. We can assume that a great many other variables entered into the members evaluation of the situation, giving rise to many different movements.

What our study indicates, however, is an underlying trend toward Gemeinschaft relations. The classes with which we have dealt could not perceive of any other functional alternatives to Gemeinschaft relations. Consciously or unconsciously they began to build into a rapidly changing society the patterns of life with which they were familiar and which had proven to be functional at one time.

This process of building old familiar social relations into new ideologies and institutional patterns followed essentially the theoretical course outlined by Georg Simmel. These old social relations in the form of sentiments and emotions guided and directed the search for new social relations. Is it just an accident that the God of the Anabaptists proved to be a God radiating cooperation and collective action while the God of the Calvinists radiated

individualism? Both of these Gods were created in the image of the persons who did the creating. Our assertion is that the social, cooperative, and collective spirit of the lower classes (in the absence of any other functional alternative,) shaped and channelled a religious ideology. These basic social relations did, in fact, condense into a religious ideology and became sanctified.

At the same time, the influence of an already existing body of religious ideals must be evaluated. The history of the Christian church provided a convenient model for Anabaptists in the form of the apostolical church. While this model was selected from all other possible models on the basis of the social predispositions of those people who did the selecting, the nature of this community in turn had an influence on the further development that took place. Over and above the spirit which the Anabaptist injected into this model there were some structural and ritualistic components in the apostolical model which influenced the development of the social movement greatly. In addition there existed some previous interpretations of the apostolical model by scholars and churchmen which without doubt had some influence. There was, then, action and reaction between social dispositions and an established religious ideology. Our data indicated that the social predispositions had a proportionately greater influence on the nature of the emergent social movement than the religious ideology that entered into it. We can say this on the basis of comparison between the various movements. The Zwinglian Church and Anabaptism, differed because of the different social predispositions of people who became members of these movements. The influence of the purely

religious factor was limited to provide alternatives, circumscribed by the range of the social predispositions. While Anabaptism generally was a social phenomena, the language and the terminology in which this phenomena was expressed was religious. The extent to which this terminology could be bent to suit the social needs of those who created the movement marked the influence of social dispositions. Only where the religious terminology proved rigid in the face of social dispositions can one speak of a purely religious influence.

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APPENDIX I

HUTTERITE ORDINANCES¹

In the main, four great Vorsteher distinguished themselves in drawing up Gemeindeordnungen: Peter Walpot 1565-78, Klaus Braidl 1583-1611, Sebastian Dietrich 1611-19, and Andreas Ehrenpreis 1639-62 but actually leading the brotherhood since 1633. Although the first-named two men contributed much to this tradition, the great Ordnungen were yet to come: Dietrich's general ordinance of 1612 (which fills 22 leaves in one manuscript) and Ehrenpreis' general ordinance of 1651 (which fills 14 pages folio size small print of the Klein-Geschichtsbuch, 519-32). That we are so well informed about all these writings is due to the tradition-mindedness of Ehrenpreis and his unusual sense for the orderly collection of all rules existent before his days, together with the contributions of his own spiritual government. In one hand-written book of 1640 (Codex III, 198 of Esztergom, apparently Ehrenpreis' own copy), with additions up to 1650, this Vorsteher put together nearly everything that had been said before and also that which he himself had presented to the brotherhood since 1633.

The most outstanding Ordnung of all is the great ordinance of 1651, which Zieglschmid prints in an appendix from a copy still preserved and in use by the Brethren today (Klein-Geschichtsbuch, 519-32). It contains a comprehensive instruction which touches practically every aspect of life, stern in character and yet with a loving concern. Among other things also the idea of shunning (Meidung) is enjoined; it must not be allowed to be taken lightly or to be denied altogether. The Ordnung of 1651 contains actually a complete "philosophy of life" in the minutest detail, and for that reason deserves particular attention.

Time of L. Lanzenstiel

1561 Ordnung of the shoemakers

Time of Peter Walpot

1568 Ordnung for the schools (Kindergarten through grades)

1569 Ordnung enjoining greatest economy at the Bruderhofs

1571 Ordnung for the millers

1574 Ordnung for the carpenters

Time of Claus Braidl

1585 Ordnung for the dyers

1588 Ordnung for the millers

1588 Ordnung for the schools, repeated 1593 and 1596

1591 Ordnung for the shoemakers

1592 Ordnung for the barber-surgeons

1599 Ordnung for the buyers (Einkäufer)

¹Mennonite Encyclopedia, Volume II, pp. 454-455.

1603 Ordnung concerning dress

1610 Ordnung for the millers

Time of Sebastian Dietrich

1612 General Ordnung to be read yearly, concerning the bringing up of the youth, simplicity of life, economy and the right conduct of the Bruderhofs

1612 Ordnung for the stewards, shoemakers, buyers, potters, and cutlers

1612 Ordnung for the potters, concerning the precious, expensive ceramic wares

1612 Ordnung for the hoofsmiths, scythesmiths, coppersmiths, bladesmiths, cutlers, casemakers, watchmakers, and potters

1617 Ordnung repeated

Time of Andreas Ehrenpreis

1633 Ordnung for the barber-surgeons

1633 Ordnung concerning absolute nonresistance

1637 Ordnung for the barber-surgeons, repeated

1639 General Ordnung for the brotherhood (first draft)

1640 Ordnung for millers, stewards, and store clerks (Ausgeber), farm managers, buyers, teamsters, seamstresses, and cellar masters

1640 Ordnung also for the Diener des Worts (ministers), likewise for those who are sent out as missionaries to visit the people of the world

1641 Ordnung for the cutlers

1641 Ordnung for the potters, repeated

1642 Letter to the Brethren in Transylvania

1642 Ordnung for the stewards (Haushalter)

1643 Ordnung concerning matching young people

1649 Letter to the Brethren in Transylvania

1650 Ordnung for the farm-manager (Weinzierl)

1650 Ordnung for the cutlers

1651 The great general Ordnung (Klein-Geschichtsbuch, 519-32) comparable to the general Ordnung of Dietrich of 1612. This ordnung was repeated almost every year, both in Slovakian Bruderhofs and in Transylvania, also later in Russia and now in America.

1654 Ordnung for the barber-surgeons

1655 Ordnung for the cutlers (repeated)

1762 Ordnung for stewards, farm managers, the distribution of the food at the tables, overseers of the granary (Kastner or Rentmeister), cooks and caretakers of the linen, also for dishwashers (Klein-Geschichtsbuch, 535-39)

1773 Ordnung concerning uniformity of dress, etc., etc., up to 1873

APPENDIX II

DISCIPLINE OF THE BELIEVERS: HOW A CHRISTIAN IS TO LIVE, INTRODUCTION

Since the almighty God and heavenly Father is permitting His eternal and all-powerful Word to be proclaimed to all creatures in these most perilous times (Col. 1) and has called us at this time out of pure grace into His marvelous light (I Pet. 3) to one body, one spirit, and one faith, united in the bonds of love (Eph. 4; I Cor. I), to which we have all agreed, in order that our calling be found worthy, not only with the word of the mouth but in the truth and power (II Thess. 1; I Thess. 1; I Cor. 4; James 1), we have all in one another's presence openly agreed to regulate everything in the best possible way. For the improvement of our brotherhood (Gemein, so translated throughout), for the praise and honor of the Lord, and for the service of all the needy, we have unanimously agreed that this Ordnung shall be kept among us by all the brethren and sisters. When, however, a brother or sister is able to produce a better Ordnung it shall be accepted from him at any time (I Cor. 14).

First Article

And beginning when the brethren are together they shall sincerely ask God for grace that He might reveal His divine will and help us to note it (Psalm 86, 118) and when the brethren part they shall thank God and pray for all the brethren and sisters of the entire brotherhood (I Thess. 1 and 5; II Thess. 1 and 2; II Cor. 1; Col 1, 3, 4).

Second Article

In the second place: we shall sincerely and in a Christian spirit admonish one another in the Lord to remain constant (Heb. 10:1; Acts 14, 15, 18; Co. 2). To meet often, at least four or five times, and if possible . . . even at midweek (I Cor. 11, 14; Acts 1, 2, 9, 11, 20; Heb. 10; II Cor. 6; Matt. 18).

Third Article

In the third place: when a brother or sister leads a disorderly life it shall be punished: if he does so publicly (he) shall be kindly admonished before all the brethren (Gal. 2, 6; I Cor. 5; II Thess. 3); if it is secret it shall be punished in secret, according to the command of Christ (Matt. 18).

Fourth Article

In the fourth place: every brother or sister shall yield himself in God to the brotherhood completely with body and life, and hold in common all gifts received of God (Acts 2 and 4; I Cor. 11, 12; II Cor. 8 and 9), (and) contribute to the common need so that brethren and sisters will always be helped (Rom. 12); needy members shall receive from the brotherhood as among the Christians at the time of the apostles (Acts 2, 4, 5; I Cor. 11, 12; Eph. 4; Prov. 5; Matt. 8, 15, 16, 17, 19; Luke 3, 6, 8,

9, 10, 12, 14, 18; I John 1, 2, 3, 4; Mark 3, 10, 12; Gal. 6; Heb. 13; Dan. 4, 8; Luke 6, 8; I Tim. 1; I Cor. 14, 16; Rom 6, 18; James 1; Phil. 2).

Fifth Article

The elders (Vorsteher) and preachers chosen for the brotherhood shall with zeal look after the needs of the poor, and with zeal in the Lord according to the command of the Lord extend what is needed for the sake of and instead of the brotherhood (Gal. 2; II Cor. 8, 9; Rom. 15; Acts 6).

Sixth Article

In the sixth place: decent conduct (ehrbarer Wandel) shall be kept among them (Rom 12, 13; Phil. 1, 2; I Pet. 2, 3; I Cor. 1, 3; Gal. 5; Eph. 5) before everyone (Titus 3; Matt. 5; I Pet. 3) and no one shall carelessly conduct himself before the brotherhood either in words or deeds (Rom. 1, 6; II Tim. 2), nor before those who are "outside" (I Thess. 5; I Pet. 3).

Seventh Article

In the seventh place: in the meeting one is to speak and the others listen and judge what is spoken, and not two or three stand together (I Cor. 14). No one shall curse or swear (Matt. 5; Rom. 3; James 5) nor shall idle gossip be carried on, so that the weak may be spared (I Cor. 15; Eph. 5; Col. 3; II Tim. 2; Psalm 118). (Geschichtbuch here cites only Ecclesiasticus 23.)

Eighth Article

In the eighth place: when the brethren assemble they shall not fill up with eating and drinking, but avoid expenses (reduce expenditures) to the least, (eat) a soup and vegetable or whatever God gives (I Cor. 11; I Pet. 4; Gal. 5; Rom. 13; Eph. 5; Eccles. 37; Luke 21), and when they have eaten, all the food and drink shall again be removed (Geschichtbuch: "from the table") (John 6; Matt. 4; Luke 9; Mark 6), for one should use with thanksgiving and moderation the creatures which God has created, pure and good, for our subsistence.

Ninth Article

In the ninth place: what is officially done among the brethren and sisters in the brotherhood (Geschichtbuch: "or is judged") shall not be made public before the world. The good-hearted (an interested but not yet converted or committed) person, before he comes to the brethren in the brotherhood shall be taught (Geschichtbuch: "the Gospel") (Mark 16; Rom. 1; Col. 1). When he has learned (Geschichtbuch: "understood") and bears a sincere desire for it, and if he agrees to the content of the Gospel, he shall be received by the Christian brotherhood as a brother or a sister, that is, as a fellow member of Christ (Mat. 7; Prov. 19, 29; Col. 4; Rom. 14; II Cor. 6; I Cor. 10; I Tim. 6; Matt. 10). But this shall not be made public before the world to spare the conscience and for the sake of the spouse (I Cor. 9, 10; Matt. 15).

Tenth Article

In the tenth place: all the brethren and sisters after they have committed themselves, shall accept and bear with patience all that He sends us (Geschichtbuch: "accept with gratitude and bear with patience")

(Rom. 6; John 13; Matt. 16; Luke 9; I Pet. 4; II Cor. 12), and (shall) not let themselves be easily frightened by every wind and cry.

Eleventh Article

When brethren and sisters are together, being one body and one bread in the Lord and of one mind, then they shall keep the Lord's Supper as a memorial of the Lord's death (Matt. 26; Mark 14; Luke 22; I Cor. 11), whereby each one shall be admonished to become conformed to the Lord in the obedience of the Father (Phil. 2, 3; I Pet. 2, 4; Rom. 8; I John 2.--Obedience: Rom. 2; Phil. 2; II Cor. 2, 10; II Thess. 1; I Pet. 1).

Twelfth Article

In the twelfth place: as we have taught and admonished the brethren and sisters we shall always watch and wait for the Lord that we may be worthy to enter the kingdom with Him when He comes, and to escape or flee from the evil that will come to the world. Amen. (Matt. 25; Luke 21; I Thess. 5; I Pet 5; II Pet. 3; Rom. 2).

God be merciful to me. I commend my spirit and your spirit with our brother in Christ into the hand of the eternal Father. Amen.¹

¹Friedmann, op. cit., p. 215-218.

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